

KUSHĀNA STATE  
AND  
INDIAN SOCIETY

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BHASKAR CHATTOPADHYAY







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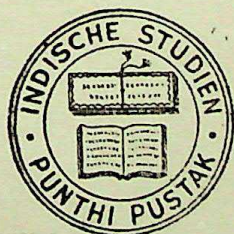
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# KUSHĀNA STATE AND INDIAN SOCIETY

*A STUDY IN POST-MAURYAN POLITY & SOCIETY*

**BHASKAR CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A., D.PHIL. (CAL.)**  
*Reader in History, Post-Graduate Dept. of History,  
University of Burdwan*



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*DEDICATED*  
TO  
PROFESSOR R. S. SHARMA  
IN HUMBLE APPRECIATION OF HIS  
ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS  
ON  
INDIAN POLITY  
AND  
SOCIETY



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
INDIAN SOCIETY  
FOR THE  
PROMOTION OF  
ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS  
IN HUMANITIES  
AND  
SOCIAL SCIENCES



## FOREWORD

I welcome with great pleasure the publication of Dr. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay's work *Kuṣāṇa State and Indian Society—A study in Post-Mauryan Polity and Society*, which may be regarded as an important contribution to the store house of ancient Indian historical studies. The age of the Kuṣāṇas stands at the crossroad of Indian civilisation. Under the patronage of the alien rulers the age-old Indian orthodoxy imbibed many heterodox traits resulting in the dawn of a new type of culture with an extended outlook opening gateways for future possibilities. The Hellenic rulers left their own legacy which, however, took a crystallised form under their successors and the Gandhāra school of art, in which we find the work of Greco-Roman techniques, reached its zenith, according to competent critics, when the Kadphises-Kaniska group of kings were ruling over the subcontinent. The Indian tradition of Mathurā school was not much disturbed, though nevertheless we can trace some amount of foreign influence on a few specimens. The Ganges-Jumna valley, the citadel of orthodox culture, now became one with the culture of the Indus Valley, the condemned region in the orthodox eyes, and it is not without significance that Bharata who composed his *Nāṭyaśāstra* about 200 A.D., according to Ghose and others, included the countries of the Madhyadeśa and Uttarāpatha within the same orbit of *Pravṛtti*. This was evidently due to the fact that the Kuṣāṇa empire which extended in the east at least up to Benaras and beyond, was studded with ethnic elements of diverse traits. This supplies us with the secret key to the then Indian society and it is really gratifying to note that the author opens his book with an account of the population of the time, the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas and the indigenous ones



following Buddhism, Hinduism and other animistic creeds. Under such circumstances the orthodox Brahmanical writers had also to change their angles of vision, and, instead of clinging rigidly to the four-fold caste system, had to invent the theories of *anuloma*, *pratiloma*, *vrātya* and *vr̥ṣala*, to admit, under pressure, the foreign and down-trodden tribal hordes into their fold. Dr. Chattopadhyay has elaborately dealt with this problem throwing welcome light on many controversial topics in a most lucid and pleasing manner. Further, the titles adopted by some of the successors of Kaniška show how they were influenced by Indian, Iranian, Roman and Chinese ideas, leading ultimately to the development of a cosmopolitan type of culture under their patronage. Again, while India contributed Buddhism to the outer world, Central Asia supplied at least three Bodhisattvas, Amitābha, Mañjuśrī and Kṣitigarbha to the Indian Buddhist creed which by then had given up the Hīnayāna and was marching on the throne of Mahāyāna. (S. Levi).

In the political field, the Kuṣāṇa sovereignty centred round the divine right theory, but the Devaputras at the same time allowed many autonomous and semi-autonomous states to survive within their empire, and themselves adopted at the same time the Indian ideal of least disturbance to the village population who thrived under their own headman, the *grāmika*. Of course, when necessary the Devaputras did not hesitate to use force to keep the indigenous people subdued, to maintain the integrity of the empire, though ultimately the spirit of centrifugal tendency got the upper hand and ate at the root of the empire. In any case, the ideal of Devaputra was carried to its logical extreme to Devakula which influenced Bhāsa in his writing of the *Pratimāṇaṭaka*.

In the last two chapters of the book, the author has critically dealt with the relation of Kuṣāṇa polity to Dharma and society. Though the Kuṣāṇa Kings them-



selves followed either Śaivism or Buddhism they nevertheless maintained perfect toleration which resulted in the composition of the bulk of the Mahābhārata, predominantly a Vaiṣṇava document, during their rule. The Western Asian goddess Ishtar-Nana made her way into the Indian soil and ultimately became one with the great Indian Mother Goddess Umā. Similarly, in the social field the alien influence, while not disregarding the orthodox framework of society, led indirectly to the rise of the Śūdras and the growth of the mercantile community, a logical out come of the social stratification in the Post-Mauryan period. I am happy to see how the author has dealt with such problems in a very intelligent manner.

The book contains three Appendices on — *State in the Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, *Some Important Inscriptions of the Post-Maurya period bearing on Indian Polity* and *Inscriptions on Kuṣāṇa coins*.

I hope the work will get its due appreciation from the scholars.

Santiniketan  
1.1.75

S. CHATTOPADHYAYA  
*Retired Senior Professor of Ancient  
Indian History & Culture  
Visva-Bharati University,*



# ABBREVIATIONS

AIU	: The Age of Imperial Unity, edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, Bombay.
AS	: Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, translated by R. Shamasastri.
ASIAR	: Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
ASR	: Archaeological Survey Report.
BEFEO	: Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi.
BEGRAM	: Recherches Archaeologiques et Historiques sur les Kouchans, Memoires de la Delegation archaeologique francaise en Afganistan, Tome XII, by R. Ghirshman.
BMC	: British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India by P. Gardner, London, 1886.
Bom. Gaz.	: Bombay Gazetteer.
BSOS	: Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.
Cat. Math. Mus.	: Catalogue of Mathura Museum.
CASR	: Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports.
CCAWK	: British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, Western Kshatras etc. ed. by E. J. Rapson.
Camb. Hist. Ind. or CHI	: Cambridge History of India, Vol. I ed. by E. J. Rapson.
Comp. Hist. Ind.	: Comprehensive History of India, Vol. II ed. by K. A. N. Sastri.



*Abbreviations*

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Corp. Ins. Ind. or CII. II i	: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum : Kharosthi Inscriptions, ed. Sten Konow.
EHI	: Early History of India by V. A. Smith, 4th Edn.
Ep. Ind. or Ei	: Epigraphia Indica.
HOS	: Harvard Oriental Series.
IHQ	: Indian Historical Quarterly.
IMC	: Calalogue of Coins in the Indian Mu- seum, Vol. I ed. by V. A. Smith.
Ind. Ant. or IA	: Indian Antiquary.
JA	: Journal Asiatique, Paris.
JAOS	: Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB	: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS	: Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS	: Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Re- search Society.
JBRS	: Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
J. Dept. Letters	: Journal of the Department of Letters.
JNSI	: Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JRASB	: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JUPHS	: Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.
Luders List	: A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the Earliest times to about A.D. 400 with the exception of those of Aśoka — by H. Luders (Appendix to Ep. Ind. X).
MASI	: Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Mbh.	: Mahābhārata.



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*Bibliography*

- N. Chron or NC : Numismatic Chronicle.  
PASB : Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
PHAI : Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Roychaudhuri (5th ed., 1950).  
PIHC or Proc. Ind. : Proceeding of the Indian History Congress.  
Hist. Cong.  
PMC : Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Vol. I by R. B. Whitehead.  
SBE : Sacred Books of the East.  
Select Ins. : Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Vol. I, ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1942.  
Wylie : Notes on the Western Regions :  
Trans. of Ch. 96, Part I and Ch. 61 fols. 1-6 of the Tsien Han shu of Pan-ku. Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. X, 1881. Translation of Ch. 96, Part II of the above. *ibid.* vol. xi. 1881.



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## INTRODUCTION

The seven elements of State enumerated in most Indian texts dealing with polity<sup>1</sup> are Svāmī, Amātya, Janapada, Durga, Kośa, Daṇḍa or Bala and Mitra.

Svāmī refers to the lord of a 'rājya' or 'rāshṭra'. In the Maurya period, Aśoka was known as "King, beloved of the gods" (Rājā Devānāmpriya).<sup>2</sup> The Suṅga kings of Northern India seem to have been known as "Rājan"<sup>3</sup> while the Sātavāhana kings of Western India assumed the titles like "Rājā", "Svāmī", "Mahārāja", "Rājarāja".<sup>4</sup> Kharavela, the greatest king of the Cheta dynasty of Kalinga, is described in his own record as "maharāja", "Kshemarāja" (lord of security), "Vadharāja" (lord of bounty) and "dharmarāja" (king of justice).<sup>5</sup> The Śaka kings of Western India used to call themselves "Rājan" and "Svāmin",<sup>6</sup> besides "Mahākshatrpa".

The Mantrins are to be distinguished from the amātyas who according to Kauṭilya (I. 9-10, 16), constitute a regular cadre of service. The "amātyas" may have been appointed officers in charge of different departments of the government. In post-Maurya times, those amātyas probably came to be known as 'sachivas'. In the record of Rudradāman<sup>7</sup> reference is given to Mati-sachivas and Karma-sachivas who formed a general cadre of officers.

Janapada stands for "rāshṭra" mentioned in the Mānu-Saṁhitā (IX. 294). According to Kauṭilya (II.1), the village should comprise one hundred to five hundred families and that eight hundred such villages should form the "sthāniya", the largest territorial unit in the Janapada. It is implied that the Janapada stands for both population and territory which is subdivided in different territorial units. Rāshṭra, Āhāra and Janapada seem to have been synonymous terms in the post-Maurya age.<sup>8</sup>



Durga is to be understood more in the sense of "Pura"<sup>9</sup> than of fortress.<sup>10</sup> The Arthaśāstra (II.6) has recommended a plan for laying out the capital (Pura). The administrative headquarters or *adhiśṭhāna* was established in those cities or *Nagaras* where the king or the provincial governors had their residence. *Pāṭaliputra*, *Sākala*, *Pratiśṭhāna* and *Kaliṅga* were such *adhiśṭhānas* (Luders' List No. 1281) of the *Suṅgas*, *Greeks*, *Sātavāhanas* and *Cheta* kings respectively.

*Kośa* or treasury appears to have been the most vital element of the State. Because, it determines the relations between *Svāmī* and *Janapada*, as also the functioning of the Government. *Kauṭilya* (VI.1) recommends accumulation of treasure by righteous and legitimate means. In the post-Maurya age, revenues used to be collected, strictly according to *Śāstric* injunctions, as it would appear from the *Nāsik Cave Inscription* of *Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi*'s 19th regnal year and the *Junāgaḍh Inscription* of *Rudradāman* dated in the year 72.

*Daṇḍa* is equated with 'bala' or army, the main support of the State. It is required to maintain law and order within and to resist invasion from outside. Further, a King desirous of conquests (*vijigishu rājā*) had to raise a strong force composed of infantry, cavalry, elephant corps and chariots. The *Mahāsenāpati*<sup>11</sup>, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* and the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*<sup>12</sup> were the officials in charge of the army in the post-Maurya age.

*Mitra* refer to ally in contrast with 'ari' or enemy. *Kauṭilya* (VI.1) has indicated the necessity of diplomatic alliance. We hear of envoy or messenger (*Dūta*)<sup>13</sup> sent by *Aśoka* to West Asian countries. Embassies sent from India to Rome, in the early centuries of the Christian era, are recorded by the Classical writers.

A modern state contains four elements, viz. a group of people, a definite territory, an organised government and sovereignty. So population is the first element in the



formation of the State. Although in most of the Indian texts we do not find out an explicit mention of this element, janapada is, by implication, an inhabited territory. The nature of janapada defined by Kauṭilya (VI. 1) indicates that the territory should be inhabited by industrious peasants, capable of bearing the burden of taxation. It should be populated by intelligent chief men and members of low castes who should be loyal. In Kāmandaka's Nīṭisāra (IV.54) it is said that the territory should be inhabited by śūdras, artisans, traders and hardworking peasants. In the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti (I. 353), "Jana" or population is clearly mentioned as one of the elements of State.

A group of people must permanently occupy a particular territory before they can form a state. The nomadic tribes migrating from place to place do not form a state. But when they settle down after permanently occupying a particular area, they form a state.

Government is the machinery of the State, enforcing law and order. This third element is represented by the amātyas who had been, in ancient times, charged with the responsibility of different departments of administration.

The last and most important factor in the composition of a state is sovereignty or the supreme authority over all persons and institutions in the State. Svāmī or lord, the first element, in ancient State, represents sovereignty of modern times.

Durga or capital, kośa or treasury, Bala or Army and Mitra or Ally are not explicitly mentioned in the definition of modern state. The elements of army and tax-collection seem to have been covered by the concept of sovereignty or supreme authority. The diplomatic recognition to a State by other States is considered essential now-a-days. The concept of Mitra or diplomatic ally is probably implicit in this system of diplomatic recognition. Government without its "adhishṭhāna" at the Capital (Durga) cannot be conceived of in modern times.



The origin and growth of the Kushāṇa State present before us an interesting phenomenon of Central Asian and North Indian history. The Yue Chi tribe, to which belonged the Kushāṇa royal family, could not form a state before they settled permanently on the banks of the river Oxus about 128 B.C. The Annals of the Early Han Dynasty (Ch. 96) informs us: When Chang Kien visited Ta-hia or Bactria, the Yue-Chi were no longer nomads, although originally they had been nomads, use to follow their flocks and change their ground with them; the Yue-Chi kingdom had for its capital the town of Lan-Shan to the north of Oxus; the kingdom had become divided into five principalities, each under a Yabgou or Chief. The Annals of Later Han Dynasty (Ch. 118) adds to our knowledge: About a hundred years after the settlement of the Yue-Chi tribe in the Oxus Valley, Kieu-tsiu-Kio, one of the Yabgous ruling in Kuei-shuang (that is, the country immediately to the north of Gandhāra or Gandhāra itself, according to Prof. Marquart), adopted an aggressive policy and reduced other principalities to subjection. It is likely that a long-drawn struggle for supremacy had engaged the five branches of the Yue-Chi tribe in the process of ascendancy of the Kuei-shuang or Kushāṇa. A tribal chief (Yabgou) Kieu-tsiu-Kio or Kujula Kadphises of coins came out successful in this struggle and declared himself as "wang" or lord. The people settled permanently in Ta-hia and thus formed a state within the Kushāṇa sovereignty.

It appears that the Kushāṇa state was created by the application of force. Firstly, the Yue-chi settled in Ta-hia and compelled the Sai-wang to move to Ki-pin in the south, as we are informed by the Early Han Annals. The Śakas probably did not move without being defeated by the superior military strength of the Yue-chi. Secondly, like the Vedic Aryans,<sup>15</sup> the Yue-chi split up the country, occupied by them, into some tribal principalities which



were often engaged in inter-necine strife and struggle. Thirdly, a strong man like Kujula Kadphises, with the help of his Kushāṇa followers, brought the five principalities of Ta-hia under his control. This was probably the final solution to the long-drawn warfare among the different clans or septs of the Yue-chi tribe. A state, thus brought into existence by force, was also maintained by force. The repeated reference to the military officials like Daṇḍanāyaka and Mahādaṇḍanāyaka in the records of the Kushāṇa period suggest that force was the predominant factor in the formation of the state as also in upholding the authority of the state.

The theory of Divine Origin of State was developed when the Kushāṇas had conquered Indian territories. It was during the reign of Wema Kadphises (Yen Kao chen of Chinese texts), the first conqueror of Tien-tehou (India), that we find the semi-divine representation of the king on his coins and the assumption of the title of "devaputra" (son of god) in the Māt stone statue Inscription of Wema takshama. According to the theory of Divine Origin, God in His infinite wisdom create the State and kings are representatives of god on earth, deriving all powers as His Agent. The boundaries of the Kushāṇa State were further extended from the North-West to the East of India during the reign of Kanishka. The indigenous people were subdued by the military power of the Kushāṇa monarch. But their religious sentiments were exploited by the propaganda of the divinity of kings through the medium of epigraphic records and coins. At least for a century, the Kushāṇa state comprised parts of Central Asia and almost the whole of Northern India. Fortunately for the Kushāṇas, the Brahmanical and Buddhist texts on polity upheld the theory of divinity of Kingship. The grievances of the indigenous people under foreign rule, if there may have been any, found no expression in any form till the decline of the Kushāṇa power towards the middle of the third century A.D.



The most significant feature of the Kushāṇa state is its multi-coloured nationalities. The State was inhabited by the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas and the indigenous peoples both Hindu and Buddhist. The Kushāṇa king held titles like Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Devaputra and Kaisara, most probably borrowed from India, Iran, China and Rome, and thus assumed sovereignty over peoples of diverse races and creeds. State recognition was effectively extended to those peoples by reflecting their varied religious beliefs on the gold and copper coins. The concept of ancient "rājya" or kingdom may have been reasonably equated with that of "rāshṭra".

It has been rightly observed by Prof. R. S. Sharma that "after more than two centuries of disintegration following the fall of the Maurya Empire the Kushāṇas restored the partial political unity of Northern India and maintained it for about more than a century."<sup>16</sup> Pushyamitra Suṅga who assassinated Brihadratha, about 187 B.C. the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha, and usurped the throne, witnessed during the latter part of his reign the splendour of Pāṭaliputra being dimmed by the rising glory of Sākala (Sialkot), the Capital of the Indo-Greek King Menander. Vidiśā, the seat of authority of king Bhāgabhadra, one of the successors of Pushyamitra, became gradually more and more powerful. The Besnagar Inscription<sup>17</sup> informs us that Antialkidas, the Greek King of Taxila, sent his ambassador Heliodorus to the court of Rājan Kāsiputra Bhāgabhadra. The Kāṇvas overthrew the Suṅgas about 75 B.C. but failed to revive the past glory of Pāṭaliputra. Their rule was probably confined to Magadha alone. The Mitra kings were ruling over the greater part of the Gangetic plains<sup>17a</sup> to the west of Magadha. The remains of Suṅga power still held Vidiśā at least upto the rise of the Āndhras. The Hāthigumphā Inscription<sup>18</sup> informs us that Khāravela, king of the Cheta dynasty, had already become powerful in Kaliṅga. If the Purāṇic statement is to be believed in,



the Kāṇvas were assailed and the remains of the Suṅga power were destroyed by Simuka, the founder of the Sāta-vāhaṇa dynasty. Dakṣiṇāpathapati Sātakarṇi, nephew of Simuka Sātavāhana, is mentioned in the Nānāghāt Inscription of Nāyanikā.<sup>19</sup> Pratishṭhāna, the modern Paithan on the Godāvarī, flourished as the capital of the Sātavāhanas.<sup>20</sup> The petty independent states grew up in Northern India, centring round Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Pañcāla, Ayo-dhyā and other cities. Vidiśā, Kaliṅga and Pratishṭhāna were centres of kingdom in the south.

The political condition of North-Western India presents us with a much more confused state of affairs. Heliodorus, son of Euratides, was the last Greek king in Bactria, who was defeated and killed by the Scythians invading from beyond the Jaxartes. Antialcidas was the last Greek King in Taxila region. We next hear of the Śakas in Taxila from the Taxila copper plate inscription of Paṭika<sup>21</sup> dated in the year 78. It is likely that Maues, the earliest Śaka King in India, ruled about the beginning of the first century A.D. Coins and inscriptions prove the existence of several satrapal families besides the Scythian dynasty founded by Maues. The North Indian Kshatrapas are divided into three main groups,<sup>22</sup> viz., the Satraps of Kāpiśī, Pushpapura and Abhisāraprastha, the Satraps of the Western Punjab, and the Satraps of Mathurā. The evidence of the Takht-Bāhi inscription<sup>23</sup> suggests that the Parthian rule in the Taxila region came to be established by A.D. 45. The Greeks were finally oppressed by the Parthians and Kabul fell to the Parthians—these information are furnished by the historians Justin and Fan Ye. But it is difficult to finally settle whether Hermaeus, the last Greek King of Kabul, was defeated by Gondoparnes or Spalirises who belonged to the family of Vonones of Drangiana. Whatever that might be, the death of Gondoparnes let loose the forces of disintegration in North-Western India. While giving an account of Indo-Scythia, the Peri-



plus informs us that "it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out". From several groups of coins we come to know about the successors of Gondopharnes ruling in different parts of the Indo-Parthian kingdom almost simultaneously and independently. Sir John Marshall's discoveries in Taxila prove that the Parthian power was finally destroyed by the Kushāṇas whose advent to the west of the Indus by A.D. 64 is indicated by the Panjtār stone inscription.<sup>24</sup> The Kalāwan copper plate inscription of the year 134 does not refer to any Kushāṇa king and thus implies some political troubles arising in Taxila in 176 A.D. But the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of the year 136 referring to mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Gushana (Kushāṇa) leaves hardly any doubt that Kushāṇa rule in Taxila region had been established on a strong foundation by A.D. 78-79. Coins and inscription prove almost beyond doubt that the Kushāṇas held their unrivalled supremacy over a vast stretch of territory extending from Balkh to Bihar. An imperial unity, which had been perfectly experienced by the people under Maurya rule, came to be revived under the Kushāṇas.

The political ideas of rulers in the post-Maurya period are reflected in some epigraphic records. In the Hāthigumphā Inscription we have a glimpse of the principles of Khāravela's government as well as his aims and ideas as a ruler. We learn that Khāravela, as a prince (Kumāra), received instruction in all the branches of learning, such as royal correspondence (Lekharūpa-gaṇanā-vavahāra-vidhi), finance, currency and law. He is described also as well-versed in the science of music (Gandharva-Veda-budha). At the age of fifteen he was appointed Yuvarāja (Crown-prince) and shared the responsibilities of administration for nine years in that capacity. He was appointed king at the age of twenty-four. Khāravela, King of Kalinga claims to have carried out in successive years of his reign such beneficent works as the restoration of the city of



Kaliṅga (Vāta-vihata-gopura-pākāra-nivesanam paṭisaṁkhārayati Kaliṅganagari-khibīram), the repair of the dams of reservoirs (Sitala-taḍāga-pāḍiya ca bandhāpayati), the restoration of gardens (Savūyāna-paṭisaṁthapanam ca Kārayati), the entertainment of his subject by an expenditure of thirty five hundred thousand coins (panati sāhi Sata-sahasahi pakatiyo ca raṁjayati), the holding of dance, drama, music and other shows of "utsava-samāja" in his capital (Dapa-nata-gīta-bādita-samdasanāhi utsava-samājā-kārāpanāhi ca kiḍāpayati nagarīm), the extension of the old canal which had been excavated by King Nanda 300 years before, into the canal from the Tanasuliya Road (Naṁdarāja-ti-vasa-sata-oghoḷitam tanasuliya vāṭā paṇādim nagaram pavesayati) and the remission of taxes and duties in favour of urban and rural populace alike (Savakara-vaṇa-anugaha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati paura-jānapadam). The account of the king's "digvijaya" found in his record seems to bear out the conclusion that he aspired to become a Cakravarti.<sup>25</sup> The purpose of the Hāthigumphā Inscription is to record the construction of such residential chambers on the top of the Udaygiri hill (Kumāri hill) and the setting up of magnificent columns in a grand hall for the congregation of Jain monks. It is said that in the twelfth year of his reign, Khāravela brought to Kaliṅga the statue of Jina which had been carried away by King Nanda (Naṁdarāja-nītam ca kālinga-jīnam saṁnivesa). Though an ardent Jaina, the King was by no means a bigot and equally patronised all the religious sects. The King's patronage towards Brahmanism is indicated by his gifts made to the brahmins (Sava-gahanam ca Kārayitum brahmaṇānām jayaparihāram dadāti).

Of Gautamīputra Satakarni, the greatest king of Sātavāhana dynasty, we have an eulogistic picture in the most important inscription of the dynasty, namely, the Nāsik Cave Inscription<sup>26</sup> of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi dated in his 19th regnal year. The Sātavāhana monarch is described



as one who had won numerous battles (aneka samarāvajita), whose capital was unassailable to the foes (satujana-dupadhasaniya-puravara), who was in prowess equal to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena (Rāma-Kesavājuna-Bhīmasena-tula-parakama) and who was not inferior in lustre to Nābhāga, Nahusa, Janmejaya, Sagara, Yayāti and Ambārīsha (Nābhāga-Nahusha-Janmejaya-Sagara-Yayāti-Rāmabārīsa-sama teja). The king had been instructed in all the branches of learning (āgamanāna nilayasa), then thought to be necessary for the formation of the princely mind. He was the ideal king granting the boon of fearlessness to others (abhayodakadāna-kilina-nibhaya-karasa), refraining from all injury to life, even that of an offending enemy (Kitāparādhe pi satu-jane a-pāṇahisā-rucisa), identifying himself with the joys and sorrows of his subjects (Porajana-nivisesa-sama-sukha-dukhasa), levying taxes in conformity with justice (dhamopajitakara-viniyoga Karasa) and checking the contamination of four varṇas (vinivatita-cātuvaṇa-saṃkarasa). The administrator played the significant role of a social reformer, subduing the pride of the Kshatriyas (Khatiya-dapa-māna-maḍanasa) and furthering the cause of the twice-born as well as non-brahmin lower orders (dvijāvara-kuṭuba-vivadhasa).

The Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman dated in year 72 (A.D. 150) throws considerable light on the policies and principles of his government. The Śaka King was gifted with a beautiful physical frame and auspicious bodily signs (parama-lakshana-vyāñja-nairupeta-kānta-mūrttinā). He was well-versed in grammar, politics, music and logic (sabdartha-gāndharva-nyāyādyānām vidyānām mahatīnām pāraṇadhārṇa-vijñāna-prayogāvāpta-vipula kīrttinā) as well as military sciences (turaga-gaja-rathacharyāsīcarma-niyudhādya). All castes looked to him for protection and sought him as their lord (Sarvai-varṇairabhigamya rakshanārtham patitve vritena). Rudradāman re-instated the deposed kings (bhrashṭarājapratishṭhāpakena). He



earned the strong attachment of dharma by rightly raising his hand in the act of dispensing justice (Yathārtha-hastochhṛayārjitorjita-dharmānurāgena). He claims that he collected from the people just taxes like bali, śulka and bhāga and that his treasury was full with gold, silver, diamond, cat's eye and other jewels (Yathāvatprāptairbali-śulkabhāgaiḥ kanaka-rajata-vajra-vaidūrya-ratnopacaya viśhyandamāna-kośeṇa). The subjects were not burdened with unjust taxes like Kara, viśṭi and praṇaya (apīdayitvā Kara-viśṭi-praṇaya-kriyābhiḥ paurajānapadam janam). But the King incurred the heavy expenditure from his own treasury in order to repair the embankment of the Sudarśana lake (svasmātkośā mahatā dhanaughena anatimahatā ca kālena triguṇa-driḍhatara-vistārāyāmaṁ setum vidhāya sarvataḥ). The Indianised Śaka king made an attempt to win the merit of protection of cows and Brāhmaṇas and increase his own fame and spiritual merit (go-brāhmaṇa..... rtham dharmakīrttivridhyayartham).

The post-Maurya records, discussed above, illustrate the Arthaśāstra-Smṛiti ideas and ideals on polity. Hereditary monarchy seems to have been the prevalent form of government. An emphasis has been laid upon the requisite qualities of a King, physical, mental, moral and intellectual. 'Dharma' is treated as the only guiding principle of an administrator. Administrative system seems to have been founded upon the Śāstric injunctions derived from the Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra. Political righteousness of a temporary ruler was required to maintain the law and order within the state. Whereas the King was required to abide by the rules of "Rājadharmā", the subjects were under obligation of following "Prajā-dharma". While the different castes and orders followed 'Sva-dharma' or their respective social duties and occupations, the king had to look after the maintenance of the social order.

The Kushāṇas had been originally Central Asians. But they came to rule in India for a pretty long time. It



would not be unreasonable to assume that they had been, to a great extent, influenced by Indian political ideas. In order to rule successfully, the Kushāṇa rulers had to accept the "dharma" or law of the land. No royal edict is known to have been issued by a single Kushāṇa ruler. Therefore, it is tradition and conventions which may have been considered as of utmost value for administrative purposes. In that case, the Arthaśāstra-Smṛiti tradition probably did not fail to impress upon the central Asiatic mind the relations between the King and the community, between State and Society, between Polity and Dharma. The eulogy like that of Khāṭavela, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi or Rudradāman is not found in any record referring to the Kushāṇa Kings and their dates. But it would be reasonable to suggest that the contemporary records partially reflect, if not reproduce wholly, the political ideas entertained by the Kushāṇa rulers. As we have already pointed out above, the Kushāṇa Kingship had a military background. It is quite likely that the Kushāṇa kings believed in military rule at the beginning. But they probably did not find in India any ground for establishing military dictatorship. The numismatic evidences at best suggest that "dharma" was not dissociated from politics altogether. It may be argued that the Kushāṇa coinage only reflects the religious beliefs of the rulers and the ruled. Religion may not have been divorced from morality and ethics. That the Kushāṇas did not make an attempt to establish any State religion or to impose the royal beliefs upon the people bears testimony to their intentions to rule in accordance with "dharma". "Satyadharmasthita" is found to have been used as a royal epithet not only on a series of coins but also in an epigraphic record discovered in Mathurā. Most of the Kushāṇa inscriptions are religious in character, recording donations, gifts or dedications in favour of some religious sects or institutions. In the post-Maurya period Kauṭilyan despotism amounting to State-



control over all the affairs of the people became obsolete due to decentralisation of political powers which came to be shared with the State by the Village-assemblies, Guilds and Republics.

For a study of the Kushāṇa polity we have to consult, although cautiously, the post-Mauryan records. Because, the Kushāṇa inscriptions or coins are not rich mines of informations in this regard. The inferences deprived from them are to be re-examined in the light of the contemporary records. We have to study the Kushāṇa polity in post-Mauryan background.

The name of the Kushāṇa ruler figures prominently in a large number of Kharosthī and Brāhmī records. The donors knew the name of the reigning monarch and the administrative head was associated in these records of gifts or dedications for religious purposes. The evidence from these records is meagre. We learn only from the inscriptions, referring to the Kushāṇa rulers, about some officers like Daṇḍanāyaka, Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka, Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa with their names. Imperial titles like Mahārāja, rājatirāja devaputra, Shāhi, and, rarely, Kaisara, are invariably associated with the names of the reigning Kushāṇa monarchs.

The Kushāṇa coinage bears the names of the rulers with their titles and epithets which very often correspond to those found in the inscriptions. The titles are found in Prākṛit, Khotanese Śaka and Greek. The figures of the King on the obverse and the appearance of deities on the reverse help us to form an idea of the Kushāṇa concept of Kingship and of the relation between State and religion. But neither coins nor inscriptions give us an idea about King's ministers (sachivas and amātyas), different administrative departments, or the revenue system.

The evidences of the contemporary Buddhist literature are, no doubt, valuable. The Milindapañha, for example, furnishes ample materials for socio-economic



aspects of our study. The work in original seems to have been written in the first century A.D.<sup>27</sup>. The text (iv. 5.27) mentions the supreme political authority of Kings and their rule in righteousness (dharma). The Mahāvastu-Avadāna text (I) contains an elaborate discussion on the origin of Kingship, duties of King and Chakrabarti King. The political maxims and doctrines of this text are mere reflections of some of Kauṭilya's political views. It appears that the political ideas of the Mahāvastu exerted an influence upon the Kushāṇa polity. Because, the data of the text is suggestive of the period between the first and the third century A.D.<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to note that the guild of Samitākara mentioned in the Mahāvastu (III) is also referred to in the Mathurā Inscription of the year 28 of the time of Huvishka. The reference to the worship of Brahmanical deities in the said Buddhist text (I), particularly, Śiva and Skanda, recalls the representation of those divinities on the Kushāṇa coinage. The Mahāvastu (II) refers to Vedic sacrifices. The Mathurā Yūpa Inscription of the time Vāsishka refers to a Brahmin officiating on the occasion of a Vedic sacrifice. However, the ideal of Rājadharmā as set up in the Mahāvastu reflects the traditional Indian concept of polity which found wide acceptance even in the face of foreign invasions, after the decline of the Mauryas, causing disruption in the indigenous body-politics.

If we believe in the tradition recorded in the Chinese text Fu-fo-tsan-Chiang, Aśvaghosha seems to have flourished in the Court of Kanishka. This is corroborated by the Chinese Tsa pao tsang Ching (Samyuktaratnapitaka-Sūtra)<sup>29</sup>. The political ideas of Aśvaghosha seem to have been influenced by the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata and Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra. In the Buddhacarita (II. 35) Sudhodana is a typical Hindu King who viewed his subjects like his own sons. As a parallel to Aśvaghosha's description, according to which the ideal King is to carry on the



administration of the Kingdom as a solemn pledge, "Mājyaṁ dikshāṁ iva vahan," we may cite a dictum from the *Arthaśāstra* (I. 19) : "dikshā tasyābighecanam", that is, 'the solemn pledge (self-dedication) is his consecration'. If Rāmarājya of Ayodhyā was the ideal state in the delineation of Vālmikī, the Śākya-rājya of Kapilavastu was equally so in the account given of it by Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddha Carita* II.I-(9) : a Kingdom, aglow with all the signs of security, prosperity, contentment, lawful conduct, happiness and piety, in short, all that makes for a popular heaven on earth (*pratyakshataḥ Svargamivopalabhya*). This Kingdom of piety can be founded, according to the Buddha, by a virtuous and gifted King overlord (*Cakravartin*)<sup>30</sup>. In the *Saundarānanda* (XV. 61) reference is made to the King's application of five expedients, namely, *Sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda* and *danḍa*. In the *Saundarānanda* (XVII. 56) we find reference to a King planning to conquer unconquered lands by concluding treaties (*Sandhi*) with powerful allies.

The Buddhist texts like the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and the *Lalitavistara* provide us with some stray references to politics. The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 562) tells us a story where the evil ministers advise the King to oppress the people with burdensome taxation. Winternitz<sup>31</sup> presumed that the work as a whole could not have been in existence earlier than the 4th century A.D., although some portions of it were written in the second century A.D. or still earlier. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (p. 180, Bib. Ind. series) cautions that the *Bodhi-sattvas* must not serve or attend upon or join the presence of Kings, *rājaputras* (princes), *rāja-mahāmātras* (High officials), *rājapurusha* (officials of the lower grade). This implies antagonism between politics and ethics. The Chinese translation of the work suggests that it may have been originally written in the early part of the second century A.D., although it is suggested that the earlier chapters might have been composed still earlier.<sup>32</sup> The



Lalitavistara (Lefmann ed., Pt. I., pp. 13-18) refers to the Chakravarti, the King, the victorious Chief of the four-fold army, devoted to the Law (dhārmika), King of the Law (dharma-rāja), possessor of seven treasures (ratna). The work may have been composed in the early part of the first century A.D.<sup>33</sup>

The Manusāmbhitā is a post-Mauryan work. The formulation of the text is placed, according to general agreement, sometime between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200. It was possibly revised several times. Chapters VII and VIII together form a section about rulers and their duties (rājadharmā), which include not only their qualities and equipment, but also the art of statecraft in peace and war. Chapter VII tells us about ministers and counsel, diplomacy, messengers, army, fort, wars, conquest, treatment of the conquered, administration of villages, communities, merchants, collection of revenue, punishment and clearance of anti-social elements. Chapter VIII deals with the administration of justice and describes legal procedure in respect of the eighteen titles of Civil and Criminal disputes, judges, evidence, offences, and punishments. Manu's political ideas and institutions are influenced by Kauṭilyan political philosophy and resemble closely the political doctrines found in the Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti as well as the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata.

It was quite possible for the Indianised Central Asiatic rulers to adopt Indian views on polity. The Kadphises Kings embraced Śaivism, Kanishka I was a Buddhist, Huvishka balanced his inclination towards both Buddhism and Hinduism, and Vāsudeva was completely Indianised. The Arthaśāstra-Smṛiti tradition of political maxims was most probably imbibed by the Kushāṇas. That an Indian view of social order and temporal authority had been consistently adopted by the Kushāṇas is probably borne out by the recognition given to them by the socio-religious laws of India and by their placement in the ethnographic



tradition of India. In the Mahābhārata (XII. 65. 13-22) the Tushāras along with the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, Cīnas and other alien peoples have been exhorted to perform such duties as obedience to parents, preceptors, kings, hermits, performance of Vedic rites, digging of wells, making of presents to the Brāhmaṇas, abstention from injuring, absence of wrath, truthfulness, purity, peacefulness, maintenance of wives and children, performance of sacrifices in honour of manes (pitris) and performance of Pāka-Yajñas. This, no doubt, indicates that the alien peoples, who had been so long regarded as Kshatriyas degraded to the status of Śūdras owing to the non-observance of sacred rites (Manu. X. 43-44), could revive their social position as Kshatriyas. The Purāṇic prophecy (Vāyu P., ii, 58.40) that most of the Kings in the Kali Age would be Śūdras, probably refers either to the Buddhist or heretic rulers failing to conform to the brahmanical pattern of life. But by gradually adopting the brahmanic standard of values in all walks of life, they succeeded in consolidating their position of the ruling class (Rājanya) in society. In the Vāya Purāṇa (Ch. 45, 115 ff) the Tukhāras (i.e. Tushāras) are mentioned along with the Yavanas, Pahlavas and others as the people of Northern Division, while in the Brihat Saṁhitā (Ch. 14) they belong to the North Western Division. From about the second century B.C. to about the middle of the 7th century A.D. all sources of information, Sanskrit ("Tukhāra" or "Tushāra"), Greek and Latin ("Tocharoi"), Chinese ("Tu-ho-lo") concur in recognising a people called Tukhāra whose original seat was in the upper valley of the Oxus. These Tukhāras or Tokharians are most probably those who supplied rulers designated as Kushāṇas in inscriptions and coins.<sup>34</sup> Taking this suggestion for granted, it may be said with an amount of certainty, on the strength of evidences deduced from Indian literature as well as inscriptions and coins, that the Kushāṇas gradually Indianised themselves. Their Indian way of think-



ing surely did not exclude polity with which we are directly concerned here. If the Tukhāras are not identified with the Kushānas, it would be extremely difficult for us to explain the non-mention of the latter in Indian literature referring to other alien peoples. The Kushāna rule for about more than a century, no doubt, left an indelible impression at least upon the intellect of India.

Although an over-all influence of Indian political thinkers or Kushāna polity is admitted, we should not overlook the continuous heritage of some alien political institutions in North-Western India from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D.

The Greek kings in India brought in some borrowings from the Seleucid administrative system of Western Asia. Some striking features of Greek administrative machinery are as follows:—

- (i) The kings used the titles and epithets like Basileos (Mahārāja), Megas (mahata), Soter (Trātā), Theotropos (god-like), Dikaios (Dhārmika), Nikator (jayadhara), Nikephoros (Jayadhara), Theos (i.e. god) and Aniketos (apadihata)<sup>35</sup>. While these are found on Indo-Greek coins, the titles "Mahārāja" and "Apracharāja" occur in the Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscriptions of the time of Menander.<sup>36</sup>
- (ii) The system of conjoint rule is evident from the joint issues<sup>37</sup> of Lysias and Antialkidas, Agathokleia and Strato I, Strato I and Strato II, Hermaios and Calliope.
- (iii) Some references in the Milindāpañha (pp. 4, 19, 20) suggest that king Menander had a council of ministers.<sup>38</sup>
- (iv) The Greek dominions in India were organised into eparchies (districts) and satrapies (provinces) the former being ruled over by "Meridarkh" known to us from the Swat Relief vase Inscription<sup>39</sup> and the latter by "Strategos".
- (v) Certain cities enjoyed quasi-autonomy. Zeus is repre-



sented as the presiding deity of the city of Kāpiśi (Kavisiye Nagaradevatā) on a coin of Eucratides.<sup>41</sup>

The presiding goddess of the city of Pushkalāvati (Pākhalavadi devata) is found on a coin.<sup>42</sup>

The Scythian administrative system in North-West India closely resembles the Greek model and is characterised by the following features :

(i) The Śaka rulers, Maues, Azes I and Azilises used dignified titles like Basileos Basileon Meglou in Greek and Maharajasa Rajarajasa (or Rajadirajasa) mahatasa in Prākṛit.<sup>43</sup>

(ii) The system of conjoint rule was practised, as it is evident from the joint-issues of Azes I and Azilises, Azilises and Azes II.<sup>44</sup>

(iii) The Satrapal system of administration in the provinces was in practice. Under Maues ruled Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka and his son mahādānapati Paṭika in the province of Chuksha (Chach), as it is learnt from the Taxila copper plate inscription of the year 78.<sup>45</sup> Aspavarman served as strategos<sup>46</sup> (satrap or governor) under Azes II.

(iv) The existence of some semi-autonomous cities is probably suggested by the representation of city-goddesses on the coins of Maues and Azes.<sup>47</sup>

The Parthian administration is hardly distinguished from the Scythian one. The following features are noticed :

(i) Gondopharnes is known from his coins<sup>48</sup> to have held the Greek titles Basileos Basileon Megalou, and Indian titles Mahārāja rājātirāja trātā devavrata.

(ii) The conjoint rule of Vonones and Spalahores, Vonones, and Spalagadames, Spalahores and Spalagadames, Gondopharnes and Gad, Gondopharnes and Abdageses, is known to us from the joint issues of their coins.<sup>49</sup>

(iii) Sasa probably ruled as a provincial governor under



Gondopharnes.<sup>50</sup> Aspavarman served as Strategos under the Parthian monarch.<sup>51</sup>

- (iv) The existence of semi-autonomous cities is not vouchsafed for.

Under the Parthians the joint-issues of coins do not suggest dual monarchy but conjoint rule of the suzerain overlord with his viceroy or governor. The title 'Kshatrapa' occurs in the record of Maues. But no such direct evidence hints that the provincial governors, during Parthian rule, held the title of Kshatrapa. The record discovered in Taxila-region and Mathurā suggest an emergence of some satrapies on the two sides of the river Indus, after the break up of the empire of Maues. There is nothing to show that either Zeionises of Taxila or Sodāṣa owed any allegiance to the Parthian overlord who is known to have ruled upto A.D. 45 according to the evidence of the Takhti-Baḥi Inscription.

The Kushāṇas imitated their Scytho-Parthian predecessors in holding high-sounding imperial titles. The conception of kingly authority among some Greek rulers assuming the titles like 'Theos' (god) or Theotropos (god-like or son of god) may have been used by the Kushāṇas. Secondly, the Satrapal system of administration, first introduced by the Greeks and followed by the Śāka-Pahlavas, was faithfully adopted by the Kushāṇas. That the Kushāṇas practised dual monarchy or conjoint rule of the reigning monarch with his governor or viceroy cannot be established beyond dispute. Kushāṇa coins do not show representation of any city-divinity except that of Rome which has no bearing upon the administrative position of cities in the Kushāṇa dominions. It is probably significant that very few state-officials of the amātya class are known from the Greek, Śāka, Pahlava and Kushāṇa records.

In the inscriptions of the Śāka rulers of Western India we have reference to officers like the Amātya (provincial governor)<sup>52</sup>, Rājāmātya (royal minister or royal



official),<sup>53</sup> Senāpati (general),<sup>54</sup> Matisachiva (counsellor), Karmasachiva (executive official),<sup>55</sup> Mahādaṇḍanāyaka (Commander of forces) etc.<sup>56</sup> The Sātavāhana inscriptions refer to Mahāsenāpati,<sup>57</sup> Mahārāshṭrin (probably Rāshṭrika of Aśokan inscriptions)<sup>58</sup>, Mahāmātra,<sup>59</sup> Amātya (officials)<sup>60</sup> Pratihāra-rakshī (guard of royal harem),<sup>61</sup> Hairaṇyaka (Treasurer),<sup>62</sup> Navakarmika (Overseer of works)<sup>63</sup> etc. Among the royal officers of the post-Mauryan period, inscriptions mention Bhāṇḍāgārika (treasurer),<sup>64</sup> Rāja-lipikāra (royal scribe),<sup>65</sup> Rāja Vaidya (Physician to the king),<sup>66</sup> ājñapti (an official),<sup>67</sup> Āyukta (an official),<sup>68</sup> Karmāntika (Superintendent of work),<sup>69</sup> Gaulmika (captain),<sup>70</sup> Nagarākshadarśa (town judge),<sup>71</sup> Nāyaka (Captain),<sup>72</sup> Rajjuka (official surveyor),<sup>73</sup> Rahasyādhikṛita (privy Councillor)<sup>74</sup>, Samcharantaka (spy),<sup>75</sup> Paniyagharika (superintendent of water works)<sup>76</sup> etc.

Although we have least informations regarding the different departments of Kushāṇa administration, indirect evidences of the contemporary records may have some bearing in this regard. The official designations generally indicate the functions of the various departments of government. On the other hand, an assessment of the functions of the State in the light of other available evidences may lead us to draw inferences on the existence of different grades of officials in charge of executive, judicial and other civil and military departments. In case of the Kushāṇas, the contemporary records furnish us with further grounds of making such assumptions. At the conclusion of the Buddhist council convoked by Kanishka I, the deliberations of the council were caused to be inscribed on copper-plates. This information is obtained from Hiuen Tsang's account. It would not be unreasonable to assume the existence of an official meant for recording the royal orders (ājñapti) and an official in charge of writing out the official documents (Rājalipikāra). Again Suśruta is known to have flourished in the court of Kanishka I. An official designation like



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“Rāja-Vaidya” does not seem to have been misfit in the Kushāna administration. Under the patronage of kings, if not by the royal order in all cases, many stūpas and vihāras were erected in the Kushāna times. The inscriptions, both Kharoshthī and Brāhmī, of the period bear testimony to the fact. The official designation, “Navakarmika”, already found in a contemporary record, is obviously expected in a Kushāna record. The Mānikialā stone Inscription<sup>77</sup> not only refers to “Navakarmiga” (Superintendent of works or an official in charge of Public Works Department) but also to “Vihāraakaravhaena” or the architect of Vihāras. This Kushāna record confirms the view that the nature of State functions indicates the activities of various departments of the government, although the officials of those departments may not be always mentioned in the records. We do not find references to any official in charge of royal treasury (Bhāṇḍāgārika) in the Kushāna record. It should be no ground for concluding that such an official was non-existent in the Kushāna State. Because, no government can function without collection of revenue to be deposited in the royal treasury. A particular government is characterised by the way in which it incurs the expenditure from the funds accumulated through revenue-collection. In fact, two Mathurā inscriptions<sup>78</sup> of the Kushāna period refer to “grāmika” who was, no doubt, an official in charge of collecting revenue from the village-people. There is hardly any need for multiplying instances to show how the evidences from the Post-Mauryan records with the exception of those ascribed to the Kushānas, have got significance in relation to the Kushāna polity.

The Kushāna state had its origin in Bactria, as we have already discussed. The different stratum of population of Bactria is to be taken into account. The ancient Sakas, Iranians and Greeks were settled one after another. The settlements of the Sakas in the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes are known to us not only from Herodotus’



"The Histories" but also from Old Persian Inscriptions. The Achaemenian rule in Bactria and the settlements of the Iranians in this country are recorded in the epigraphic records of Darius and Xerxes as well as the tradition recorded in the legends of the Avestā. Strabo's Geography is a mine of informations about the tribes of Central Asia and India, as far as was known in the days of the author himself. Strabo's remarks on the history of Bactria and Bactrian Indian are all-important. The story of Alexander's invasion, and the migration and settlement of the Greeks in Bactria are told by Arrian in his "Anabasis", by Curtius Rufus Quintius in his "History of Alexander the Great", by Diodorus in his "Bibliotheca Historica" and by Plutarch in his "Life of Alexander". For the history of Greek kings in Bactria from the time of Diodotus to their total extinction in the time of Heliocles, our only authority is Justin, the author of "Trogii Pompei Philippicarum Epitoma", a kind of anthology of the Philippic history of Trogus, an historian of the reign of Augustus. The Chinese histories, Ssu-ma-chien's Shi-ki, Pan Ku's Tsien-Han Shu and Fan Ye's Hou-Han Shu, refer to tribal migrations in Central Asia, the migration of the Yue-Chi tribe from North-Western border of China to Bactria and their settlement in the valley of the Oxus, the extinction of the remains of the power of the Sai-Wang and the emergence of the Kushānas as an imperial power. The early history of Bactria would show how the country passed through political vicissitudes caused by the invasions of the Scythians, Iranians, Greeks and Yue-Chi. It is clear that the Kushānas who established their state in Bactria towards the end of the first century B.C. inherited the political traditions handed over to them by their predecessors. Besides, the Kushānas remained for a long time in close contact with the Iranians, Greeks and Scythians. Obviously, the political concepts of Imperial Monarchy and Satrapy were bequeathed by the Iranians through the Greeks to the



Kushāṇas. The history of North-Western India, from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D., is closely bound up with that of Bactria. In North-Western India were settled the Yavanas or Greek, Śakas, Pahlavas and other foreign immigrants, as it is known from Varāha Mihira's *Brihatsamhitā*. The Cīnas are also mentioned among the foreign settlers in India. The Romans and Cīnas or Chinese often visited the North-Western part of India in course trade and commerce between the Roman West and Orient and probably settled colonies at some places. While archaeological excavations at Begram and Taxila have yielded antiquities of Roman character, the reference to Cina-bhukti in Hiuen Tsang's account is significant. Side by side with the Zoroastrians or Magians lived Buddhist, Jains and Hindus. A section of the people followed the Graeco-Roman pantheon. Thus, a composite character of the population in the Kushāṇa state is remarkable.

The territorial organisation of the Kushāṇa state underwent changes with the growth of the empire. From the evidences of the findspots of inscriptions and coins it has been suggested that the Kushāṇa empire stretched from Balkh to the borders of Bengal. It is not known to what extent effective political control was commanded by the Kushāṇa rulers over such a vast territory. It is apparent that there could be hardly any unitary character in the Kushāṇa constitution. It is difficult to ascertain the relation of the Kushāṇa rulers with the indigenous monarchical and republican status. Chinese evidences show that there may have been viceroys in some provinces. The epigraphic evidences prove the existence of some satrapies. The viceroys, satraps or other provincial governors may have enjoyed semi-independent status. State intervention in the internal administration of indigenous monarchical republican states does not seem to have been a probability. The village-assemblies under the headmen (*grāmikas*) and



the town-councils (*nigama-sabhās*) under the guild-chiefs (*Śreṣṭhins*) enjoyed considerable autonomy in the management of their affairs. Their customs or rules were upheld by the law-givers and therefore recognised by the State.

It has been observed: "It is difficult precisely to define the waxing or waning of the Kushanshahr at any given moment, to distinguish satrapies from independent but satellite states or from spheres of economic or political influences."<sup>79</sup> The monarchical states of Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Ahichhatra and Ayodhyā had their independent status in the post-Maurya period for a long time. This is attested by their extensive coinage.<sup>80</sup> Again the evidence of the Allahabad pillar inscription<sup>81</sup> of Samudra Gupta shows their independent existence in the first part of the fourth century A.D. The Kushāṇa rulers probably extended their spheres of economic and political influence in Northern India sometime at the end of the first century A.D. or in the beginning of the first century A.D. It is known to us from the epigraphic records, referring to Kanishka, discovered as far as Benares. Simultaneously, we find a gap in the long series of coinage put in circulation in the particular states. These two types of evidences have led to the suggestion that the post-Mauryan kingdoms in Northern India were incorporated in the Kushāṇa empire. On the basis of the same evidences it may be suggested that the suspension of the issue of coinage in a particular state proves that it accepted the Kushāṇa coinage. But it does not necessarily mean that all of them had lost their political independence. Some of them may have established their link with the international market through an acceptance of the Kushāṇa currency. Their position may have been like that of satellite independent states for a temporary period. It was again likely for the Kushāṇa conqueror to re-instate the defeated kings. The republican states of the Yandheyas, Mālavas and Ārjunāyanas, flou-



ished in the post-Mauryan period. Geographical factors played significant role in bringing these tribes, settled in the Punjab and Rajputana, under the political influence of the Greeks, Sakas and Kushānas. But there is scope for doubt that any intervention was ever made by the central authorities in the internal affairs of the republican states. An element of federalism in the Kushāna state cannot be ruled out.

The feudal character of the Kushāna political system has been inferred by some scholars.<sup>82</sup> It is doubtful whether the position of kings of Northern India, defeated and reinstated, was like that of the vassals owing allegiance to the paramount authority of the Kushāna overlord. The obligations of vassals to their lords should have included military service and payments reminiscent of feudalism as it evolved in Europe. But the relation of lord and vassal was not like that usually associated with feudalism. Nor have we any evidence to show the development of manorial system. In view of the extensive coinage current in the state, it is difficult to believe that administrative officers were paid for their services with grants of land. We should consider whether the Kushāna polity was characterised by tax-farming and military pre-bendalization.<sup>83</sup> In A.D. 90 the Yue-Chi king sent his viceroy Sic to attack Pan-Chao who, however, succeeded in defeating him.<sup>84</sup> In Chapter 77 of the Hou-Han-Shu it is said that "the Yue-Chi sent their viceroy Hsieh with 70,000 soldiers to attack (Pan)Ch'ao."<sup>85</sup> It shows a particular appointment to generalship to conduct the Central Asian expedition. It hardly proves that to render military aid to the Kushāna lord was an obligation of his vassal. Nor it suggests that one of the main objectives of the bureaucratic organisation was the procuring of supplies for the army. But, if it is believed that the evidences from the Manu-Sāmhita (VIII. 116-18) have a bearing upon the Kushāna political organisation, it is likely that the tax-collection



was granted as a prebend in return for a fixed payment. From this point of view, the satraps, the district and the village officials were the tax-farmers, the fore-runners of feudal lords, tenants and sub-tenants respectively. The lowest order of society is represented by 'Dāsas'<sup>86</sup> and 'bhatakas'<sup>87</sup> some of whom were most probably daily wage-earners for labours in cultivable lands.

The self-governing status of the village, and the corporations like Guilds and Republics, as we have indicated above, shows an element of local autonomy in the territorial organisation. This element was traditionally recognised in Indian polity through the ages. Whatever may have been the titles of Indian Kings, Rājan, Mahārāja, Rājātirāja Devaputra, or Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhirāja, the central authority had hardly direct command and control over the affairs of the people belonging to the autonomous bodies of the State.

It has been suggested that the high-sounding titles of the Kushāṇa rulers indicated the reality of decentralisation and the device of deification adopted by them was an attempt to conceal and remove their political weakness.<sup>88</sup> Political decentralisation was, no doubt, witnessed in the post-Mauryan period. But it is to be admitted that the Kushāṇas succeeded to bring about an imperial unity for more than a century. Perhaps to checkmate the forces of disintegration and fissiparous tendencies, the Kushāṇas adopted the concept of exalted monarchy for winning over the allegiance of all classes and orders of people. The divinity of the king was a device to exploit the religious sentiments of people. The Kushāṇa rulers claimed the rank of the great king, king of kings, son of god, even equal to that of the Roman emperor designated "Caesar". Those titles indicate the sovereign powers vested in kingship. In spite of being in possession of sovereignty, the Kushāṇa rulers most probably were not averse to the dictum: *Vox populi vox dei*. State recognition and respect



to the will of the people is suggested by the varied reverse devices of the Kushāṇa coinage reflecting religious beliefs of the peoples of the Kushāṇa state.

The scheme of the present work is shown in the chapters enumerated below :

- Chapter I* : POPULATION : Scythians ; Iranians ; Greeks ; Tocharians ; Indians ; Ethnic settlements.
- Chapter II* : TERRITORY : Origin of Kushanshahr ; Vijaya Rājya ; Kushāṇa Central Asia ; North-west Frontier Provinces of India ; India proper.
- Chapter III* : SOVEREIGNTY : Mahārāja ; Rājatirāja ; Devaputra ; Royal portraits ; Devakula ; Divinity of kingship ; Caesar ; Legal sovereignty ; Political sovereignty.
- Chapter IV* : GOVERNMENT : Yauvarāja ; Dvairājya ; Royal succession ; Councillors ; High officials ; Viceroyalty ; Satrapal system ; Administrative organisation ; City administration ; Village administration ; Public Finance ; Functions of the State ; Foreign relations.
- Chapter V* : STATE IN RELATION TO DHARMA : Religion — an instrument of state-craft ; Personal religion of the Kadphises kings — Śaivism ; Personal religion of Kanishka — Buddhism ; Personal religion of Kanishka's successors — Brahmanism, Indo-Iranianism ; Religious policy of the Kushāṇa state.
- Chapter VI* : SOCIETY AND POLITY : Manu's social theory ; social disorder ; Foreign influences ; Heretical Religious ; Rise of Śūdras ; Growth of mercantile community ; Degradation of the Priestly class ; Women and Family life ; Changing order in society ; Rural society ; Urban social structure ; Two forces in society ; Political disintegration and its impact ; Kus-



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hāṇa state polity ; Social stratification in the post-Maurya period ; Theory of Conquest society ; Kushāṇa State and Indian Society.

In the Appendices are included (A) State in Mānava Dharmaśāstra, (B) Some important Inscriptions of the Post-Maurya period bearing on Indian Polity and (C) Inscriptions on Kushāṇa coins. The select bibliography contains both original sources and modern works.

I am indebted to those learned scholars who have already made original contributions to the study of Ancient Indian polity in general and the Kushāṇa polity in particular. No word of gratitude can express my indebtedness to Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyay, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Retired Senior Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, who has been kind enough to introduce the theme of the book through his learned Foreword and thus encourage me like his pupil. My thanks are due to Sriman Mukul Ranjan Roy, M.A., Head of the Department of History, Vivekananda Mahavidyalay, Burdwan, who has helped me by preparing the Index. To S. K. Bhattacharya, Proprietor, Punthi Pustak, Publishers and Book-sellers, I am grateful for the interest that he has taken in the publication of the work.

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5th January, 1975  
Golapbag,  
Burdwan.

BHASKAR CHATTOPADHYAY

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## Chapter I

### POPULATION

The ideal king of Aśvaghosha, the great poet, is substantially the ideal king pictured in the Rājadharmas section of the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata and in the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya. Aśvaghosha delineates Suddhodana, king of Kapilavāstu, as a typical Hindu King who viewed his subjects like his own sons :

Svābhyah prajābhyo hi yathā tathāiva sarvaprajābhyah śivamāśaśamse // ( Buddha Charita, II. 35 ).

"Sarvaprajāh" of Aśvaghosha may be equated with "prakritayah" mentioned in the Arthasāstra ( Book VII, Ch. IV ) denoting the subjects ruled by the king, or the collective body of citizens of the state. In the Manu Samhitā ( IX. 294 ) also the subject-people are referred to as "prakṛti".

The population of the territory conquered and ruled over by the Kushānas, in the early centuries before and after the Christian era, is to be studied carefully, at the beginning.

The Chinese ambassador Chang Kien's report as incorporated in Su-ma-chien's Shi-Ki relates how the people of Ta-hia ( Bactria ), settled in the fertile lands on the banks of the Oxus, devoted to commerce and unskilled in war, were reduced to subjection by the Yue-chi, an invading nomadic horde. The Ta-hia people or the Bactrians, in the second century B.C., that is, at the time of the advent of the Yue-chi, represented a mixed population of Scythians, Iranians and Greeks.

#### *Scythians*

The Scythian tribes, from a very early period, were distributed over a large part of Central Asia. The



Messagetae, the Great Scythian tribe, extended from the east of the Don to the middle of the Jaxartes river and also up to the Oxus Valley, that is, Khwarezm. South of this lived the Dahae, the ancestors of the Parthians, while to the east of the Messagetae were settled the Sakaraukas from whom originated the Sai-wang of the Chinese<sup>1</sup>.

Three branches of Scythians referred to in the Naksh-i-Rustam Inscription<sup>2</sup> of Darius I are Saka Haumavarka (Amrygian Scythians of Herodotus), Saka Tigrakhauda before their migration to the lands bordering on the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

A description of "Śakadvīpa" or the Land of the Śakas, found in the Bhīshmaparvan (Ch. XI. 36-37) of the Mahābhārata is relevant in this connection. The four Janapadas in the Land of the Śakas are mentioned as Maga (Maka of the Behistun and Persepolis Inscriptions of Darius), Masaka (Messagetae?) Manasa and Mandaga (Medes?). The mention of the river Vakshu (that is, the river Oxus) flowing through the land is quite significant<sup>3</sup>.

Classical writers give us an impression that the Sacae or the Scythians occupied the fertile plains of the Oxus. Q. Curtius Rufus (Alexander the Great, Bk. IX, Ch. II) often associates the Scythians with the Bactrians. Strabo (Geography, XI) refers to the customs practised by the Bactrians, which are identical with those of the Scythians. The worship of goddess Anahid with her Sacae ritual was celebrated by priests in Scythian vestments. The custom of doing away with the dead and infirm obtaining in Bactria is practically identical with that of the Scythians.<sup>4</sup> Justin's statement, "the Bactrian Empire was founded by the Scythians" (Historiarum Philippicarum, II. 1), may be recalled to assume that the entire Scythian population, being divided into a number of tribes under tribal chiefs, established one of their states in Bactria by the sixth century B.C.



A later attack on Ta-hia by the Śakas from beyond the Jaxartes in the second century B.C. is vouchsafed for by the Annals of the Former Han Dynasty (Tsien Han-Shu). If we follow the Chinese account we are to believe that the Ta Yue-Chis were defeated by the Hiung-nu in 176 B.C. They ousted the Śakas from the Jaxartes region in about 160 B.C. The Śakas then migrated to Ta-hia. Pressed by the Wu-Suns the Yue-ches moved to the South and occupied Ta-hia. It was then that the Sai-Wang (King of the Śakas) was obliged to move further south and ruled over Ki-pin. The Sai or the Śakas were scattered and at times formed several kingdoms. Some of the Śakas who could not move were ultimately absorbed in the Yue-chi horde<sup>5</sup>.

### *Iranians*

The aboriginal race of Scythian stock inhabiting "Bakhtri" had an intimate contact with Iranians long before they had been subjugated by the Persian arms. Large number of Iranians settled in Bactria. Cyrus, the Achaemenid King (550-529 B.C.), conquered Bactria and placed it under a prince who acted as the King's viceroy. It was under Darius (521-486 B.C.), the Great King (Kshāyathiya Vazarka), King of kings (Kshāyathiya Kshāyathiyānām), king of lands peopled by all races (Kshāyathiya dahyūnām tyaishām parūnām), Bactria formed the easternmost province of the Iranian Empire. Iranian rule in Bactria imposed upon its original inhabitants, from the sixth to the fourth century B.C., compulsory military service in times of war in addition to the fixed royal revenue to be deposited annually at the Imperial Treasury.

Land was no doubt the source of revenue. Bactria was noted for its fertility. Starbo (Geography, XI) calls it the 'pride of Ariana'. Q. Curtius tells us: "The soil of



Bactria varies considerably in its nature. In some spots extensive orchards and vineyards produce abundant fruits of a most delicious quality. The soil is rich and well-watered. The warmer parts produce crops of corn; the rest is better for pasture-land. The fertile portion was densely populated, and rears an incredible number of horses" (History of Alexander the Great, VII).

It is reasonable to assume that the Iranians marked themselves as the military aristocracy, being supported by the surplus produced by the toils of the cultivator-Scythians. The Persian satrapies, we are told, were called upon, after defraying the royal revenue, to support the Satrap, his court and army<sup>6</sup>.

The Iranians were worshippers of Ahuramazda, often mentioned in the old Persian Inscriptions. From Herodotus it is learnt that the Iranians also worshipped the sun (Mithra), the moon (Mah), the earth (Zam), fire (Atar), water (Apam Napat) and wind (Vayu). The cult of the goddess Anahita was, in course of time, adopted by the Iranians. The Iranians used to worship their gods with sacrifices. No sacrifice could be accomplished without ministrations of the Magi, a fraternity of Median origin. All the bas-reliefs above the royal Achaemenian tombs represent the prince sacrificing before an altar with the sacred fire, and above him is winged disk out of which rises the head and shoulders of Ahuramazda.<sup>7</sup>

Zoroaster, the prophet and reformer, flourished in the sixth century B.C. Tradition says that he appeared in Bactra, the beautiful city, the ancient seat of the monarchs of Eastern Iran. Bactra became the centre of Zoroastrianism and a legend in Greece describes Zoroaster as a "Bactrian King".<sup>8</sup> The Iranian conception of religion, prior to Zoroaster, had much in common with that of the R̥gveda. In spite of differences, the worship of the sacred fire was common to the Iranians and Vedic religions. It was expounded by Zoroaster that the world was ruled



over by two principles—Good and Evil. Ahuramazda, as the supreme god personifying all that is good, and Ahriman, Angra Mainyu, standing for Evil represent Dualism in Zoroastrianism.

It has been suggested that the Magas, Iranian priestly class, who had been worshippers of Mihira (Sun-god) came to India during the reign of Kanishka, the first monarch to espouse the cause of the Avestic faith and represent Mihira on his coins.<sup>8a</sup>

### *Greeks*

The might of the Macedonians, the Syrians and the Bactrian Greeks was felt by the largely Iranian population in the Oxus Valley from the fourth to the second century B.C. In course of Alexander's invasion and conquests, bringing about the collapse of the Persian Empire, encouraged Greek colonisation in Eastern Iran. The Greeks formed a powerful bloc of the Bactrian people under the rule of a Greek satrap. "The Anabasis of Alexander" by Arrian, "History of Alexander the Great" by Q. Curtius Rufus, 'Bibliotheka Historica' of Diodorus, "Historiarum Philippicarum" of Justin and Plutarch's "Life of Alexander" record the great military achievements of Alexander the Great in Asia which read like romance. Alexander made his general Seleukus, Governor of Syria, Mesopotamia and the Eastern countries. After Alexander's death, Seleukus and his successors continued to rule these territories, while Bactria, a Greek satrapy, enjoyed almost de facto independence. The house of Seleukus<sup>9</sup> is known to us from their extensive coinage. The Roman historian Justin states, after recording the revolt of Parthia from Seleukidan rule, that at the same time, about 248 B.C., Diodotus, governor of the thousand cities of Bactria, rebelled and had himself proclaimed king. Polybius incidentally informs us about Euthydemus's seizure of the Bactrian throne. The line of



Euthydemus, known to us from the coinage, continued to rule until it was overthrown by Eucratides, who is referred to by Justin and described by Strabo as the king of Bactrians, having thousand cities under him. In the annals of Justin is graphically recorded how Eucratides was murdered by his son Heliocles, the last Greek King in Bactria, who is understood to have witnessed the final overthrow of the Graeco-Bactrian power by the nomadic hordes. Extensive coinages bearing the life-like busts of the series of Greek princes on the obverse and Hellenic deities on the reverse give us familiarity with the long line of Greek rulers divided into two rival houses and constantly engaged in internecine strife and struggle amongst themselves. Through many years of contact the Greeks with their culture became mixed up with the native population of Bactria.

Bactria remained in the Seleukid Empire as a satrapy, the governor of the province being called "Strategos", general. The satrapies, under Seleukid rule, were again divided into districts and sub-divisions known as eparchy and hyparchy. The Bactrians converted eparchies into satrapies under strategos. In addition there were the towns<sup>10</sup> like Alexandria-Bactra, Eucratideia, which followed the pattern of Greek Polis. The basis of the Seleukid settlement was the military colony. The aim of the military colony was to become a full 'polis', City of Greek organisation and civic forms. The Greek city was administered by a council and an assembly. The epistates or city governor, who represented and was directly responsible to, the King, is met with the Seleukid realm. The epistates, where he existed, did not interfere with the internal autonomy of the city, but worked in collaboration with the agronomos and the astynomos. The official language was Greek. It seems that Iranian feudal system was still prevalent. Most of the military colonies and cities were planted by the Greeks in the "King's Land" under the



Seleukids. The land, other than those Greek settlements, was under the possession of the Iranian aristocracy, mostly living in their own strongholds. The Iranian landowners had their lands cultivated by a serf-peasantry living in villages. W. W. Tarn is justified in suggesting that at least a part of the peasantry were of pre-Iranian stock<sup>11</sup>. The peasant-serfs might have enjoyed some privileges in the form of liberty in the Greek settlements founded on the native villages.

A study of the Graeco-Bactrian coinage<sup>12</sup> would show that the Greek pantheon was imported and found firm footing on the soil of Asia: Hercules, Zeus, Apollo, Pallas Athene, Nike, Artemis, Demeter, Dionysus, Dioscuroi, Hecate, Helios, Poseidon and Triton were made popular. At the sametime Bactrian goddess Anahid was adopted by the Greeks.

An outline given above would show how the population of Bactria was processed through an intermingling as well as co-existence of different races, Śakas, Iranians and Greeks. The experiment in racial and cultural admixture, in a geographical unit like Bactria on the banks of the river Oxus, might have been immediately caused by an imperial expansionist policy of the Achaemenids, the Macedonians and the Syrians. But we should not lose sight of the fact that Bactria was not only of strategic importance to the western imperialists, but its fertile lands producing golden crops lured the nomadic tribes of Asia to settle in sedentary life. The reason is not far to seek why nomadic movements in Central Asia had a trend and tendency to come to a halt in Bactria. The sedentary Scythians in the seventh century B.C. bound themselves with the soil and settled in villages depending mainly on agriculture. The Iranians and Greeks, who came later to dominate and rule, had to depend entirely on the toiling Scythian masses for production. The aristocracy composed of both the Iranians and the Greeks presumably turned towards trade and commerce



for more and more affluence. Chang Kien, who visited Ta-hia in B.C. 128, said that the Ta-hia were communities of unwarlike traders living in walled towns<sup>13</sup>. The Sai-Wang, coming from beyond the Jaxartes in the second century B.C., could not rest a while under the pressure of the Yue-chi. The Yue-Chi came to stay in Bactria. When Chang-Kien visited Ta-hia, he found the Yue-Chi already settled in the country. The Yue-Chi were found by the Chinese ambassador 'weary of trekking and fighting' and they wanted to live in peace.

### *Tochari*

Strabo (Geography, XI, 8,2) states that "the best known tribes are those who deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli, who came from the country beyond the Jaxartes". It has been supposed by many on the basis of the above statement that Strabo has referred to the Śaka conquest of Bactria after overthrowing the Greeks. But the supposed Śaka conquest of Bactria was not an event of the second century B.C., but of pre-Achaemenid days<sup>14</sup>. Greek rule in Bactria proper was overthrown by the Yue-chi and not by the Śakas.

That the pre-Iranian Śaka elements formed the substratum of the Ta-hai people is indicated by Chang-Kien's report and clearly points out an early Śaka conquest of Bactria. About the Ta-hias it has been said by Chang Kien, "they place high value on women, and husbands are guided in their decisions by the advice of their wives<sup>15</sup>". M. Rostovtzeff<sup>16</sup> has suggested that the part played in social and political life by the women among half-Iranian Sarmatian tribes came from the pre-Iranian Maeotian element.

It has been suggested by scholars that the Sai-Wang, being pressed by the Yue-Chi, crossed the Jaxartes and overthrew the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Further, the



'Sakarauli' of Apollodorus and Strabo, identical with the 'Saraucae' of Trogus Pompeius and Justin, is equated with the Sai-Wang<sup>17</sup> about whom some informations are furnished by the Tsien-Han-Shu. But it is difficult to agree with the view that Bactria was conquered by a mixed horde of the Śaka and the Yue-Chi.<sup>18</sup> The passage of Strabo seems to be confused one. The Chinese annals probably make it apparent that the Yue-Chi occupied Ta-hia at a later period, after it has been conquered by the Śakas. In the opinion of Tarn<sup>19</sup>, "Chang-Kien who was there knows nothing of this, and no scrap of evidence for it exists." According to him, "Changkien is quite clear that the conquest of Ta-hia (Bactria) was the work of the Yue-Chi". He thinks that "the Śaka conquest of Bactria was a myth". An analysis of the relevant extracts of the Chinese annals would, however, show that about 160 B.C. the Śakas were ousted by the Yue-Chi from the Jaxartes region. On Tarn's own suggestion, in 141 B.C. 'the curtain falls on Greek Bactria, to rise again in 128 upon new peoples and new names.' In 128 B.C. Chang-Kien was in Bactria and found the Yue-Chi in occupation of Ta-hia. It is significant to note that he was sent in 138 B.C. by the Han emperor Wu-ti, as his envoy to the Yue-Chi to solicit their alliance against the common enemy, the Hiung-nu. It is quite reasonable to assume that the Yue-Chi had begun their sedentary life by 138 B.C. on the banks of the Oxus. Because, the Chinese mission was sent to an already settled political power. It was pointless to seek help from the Yue-chi who were themselves being defeated and driven from one place to the other by the Hiung-nu and the Wu-sun. Following this line of reasoning we may arrive at a conclusion that the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom had been conquered by the Yue-chi at least before 138 B.C. But in 128 B.C. Chankien found them in ancient Sogdiana on the northern banks of the Oxus. Probably by another thrust the Yue-chi crossed the Oxus,



moving southwards and completed the conquest of Bactria (Ta-hia) proper. Although the Chinese annals are not explicit on the fate of the Śakas in Ta-hia, chronological sequences indicate atleast two events: arrival and stay of the Śakas in Ta-hia atleast for some time. The Śakas might have contributed, in no insignificant measure, towards letting loose the forces of disorder and confusion in the Greek kingdom of Bactria. The Tsien-Hanshu seems to be explicit in stating that the Yue-chi fell upon the Śakas whereupon the latter moved to the south and ruled over Ki-pin.

Trogus, in his 41st book, gives an account of how Scythian tribes, the Saraucac and the Asiani, took possession of Bactria and Sogdiana. In the prologue of the 42nd book of Trogus there is further information relating to the Asiani becoming kings of the Tocharians and the annihilation of the Saraucacae. Therefore, the 'Sakarauli' or the 'Saraucac' represents the Śakas who were driven by the Tochari, of whom the dominating stratum was the Asiani or the Pasiani. Asiani is to be derived from Asii. Tarn<sup>20</sup> thought that the name Asii was the same as Arsi found by Sieg in much later seventh century Central Asian documents. Van Windenkens suggests that the word Arsi meaning "white" was used to indicate the rulers of the Tochari, and subsequently the people over whom they ruled.<sup>21</sup> Prof. Bailey<sup>22</sup> explains Arsi as Sanskrit Ārya. However, it is reasonable to assume that the Tochari were the Yue-chi, while the Asiani represented the Kushāṇas, the dominant element, the ruling group. The Kushāṇas were probably a tribe, a sept or a family or a dynasty. In this connection we quote a statement of Fan Ye (Annal of the Later Han Dynasty): "All the other countries designated them Kushāṇa; but the Han retained the old name and called them "Ta-Yueh-chi".

The Tochari were, no doubt, the Yue-chi. The Tochari has been identified with the Thaguroi of Ptolemy



( Geography, VI, 16, 5, 8 ) on the Silk Route which had a city Thogara. The Chinese knew of remnants of the Togara in Kan-su in the second century B.C.<sup>23</sup> The name Togara occurs in or about Kansu in Tibetan texts.<sup>24</sup> The name, "Haugara", for a town in Kansu, is found in a document in Khotani Śaka as late as 300 A.D. These evidences taken together give us to believe that the Tochari came to Bactria in the second century B.C. from Kansu. Again, we learn from Ssu-ma-chien's Shiki that between B.C. 174 and 165 the Yue-Chi were dwelling between the Tun-huang country and the Tien-shan Range, south and east of Lake Issykul in Chinese Turkestan, in the Kansu province in North-Western China according to some scholars.

Some scholars hold the view that the Tochari were not the Yue-chi but were the Ta-hia<sup>25</sup> living in the country which Hiuen Tsang called Tu-ho-lo or Tokharistan bounded by the Tsung-ling ( Pamirs ) on the east, Persia on the west, the Hindukush on the south and the Iron Pass or Derbend near Badakshan in the north. It has been held that Ta-hia is a possible phonetic equivalent of Tochari or Tukhāra.<sup>26</sup> But it has been shown that this was not possible in the pronunciation of the second century B.C. and that the Chinese in that century had the Tochari-Tagara name.<sup>27</sup> The phonetic equivalence, which is utilised as a probable basis for the identification, does not stand on solid grounds. Besides, it is difficult to apply Chang Kien's description of the Ta-hia, as people of unwarlike traders living in walled towns, in the case of the Tochari represented by Strabo as an invading nomadic tribe.<sup>28</sup>

In the Chinese translations of Sanskrit works, <sup>29</sup> Tukhāra ( i.e. Tochari of classical writers ) is transcribed as Tu ho-lo and translated as Yue-chi. In a list of languages translated into Chinese in 431 A.D., Guṇavarman substituted the name of the Yue-chi for Tukhāra. In his translation of the commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā, Kumārajīva



transcribed the word as Ta-kia-lo and explained it as Siao (Great) Yue-chi. Pelliot<sup>30</sup> distinguishes the Kuei-shuang from the Yue-chi but holds that the Tokhri of the bigur colophons is the Tocharian which Hiuen Tsang found in Tocharistan and 'Kusan' of the same colophons is the language of Kucha and that both these languages belong to the same family. Otto Maenchen-Helfen has shown that the term 'Yue-chi' found in Chinese texts is another Chinese transcription of 'Kuṣa', equated with the Tochari of the Classical authors<sup>31</sup>.

The Tochari of the classical accounts is transcribed as Tukhāra in Sanskrit. Side by side with the Śakas and the Yavanas we find mention of the Tushāras (another form of Tukhāra) in the Matsya, the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas<sup>32</sup>. They are mentioned as Tukhāras in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa LXIV.15), the Mahābhārata (Sabhā-Parvan L. 1850 ; Vana Parvan LI 1991 ; Śāntiparvan, LXV. 2429) and the Harivaṃśa (CXV. 6440-42). The Brihat Saṃhitā places the Tushāras in the North-West. The Tukhāras find mention in the two Buddhist texts, Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna and the Mahāmāyūrī<sup>33</sup>. Indian texts referring to the Tukhāras cannot be dated before the second century B.C. The Epics and the Purāṇas were the products of the early centuries of the Christian era, according to Winternitz, although their beginning might be traced further back. The Sanskrit Buddhist texts, referred to above, were not produced much before the beginning of the Christian era. The Brihat Saṃhitā was a composition of the sixth century A.D. Mention of the Tukhāras does not indicate that they had been settled in Ta-hia or Bactria even before it was conquered by the Yue-chi in the second century B.C.

#### *Indians (Tien-tchou-people)*

In the early centuries before the Christian era and in



the first century A.D., the Bactrian Greeks, the Śakas, the Parthians and the Kushāṇas in course of their invasions in North-West India, built up foreign settlements in India. It was probably apprehended that mass migrations of foreign peoples would cause reversal of Indian social order based on 'varṇāśrama'. In connection with the invasions of the Bactrian Greeks and the Śakas, the "Yuga Purāṇa" section of the Gārgī Saṁhitā states: At the end of the Kali Age, all distinctions between the non-Aryans and the Aryans, between Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, between orthodoxy and heresy will disappear; Śūdra mendicants will appear in the guise of Brāhmaṇas; Śūdras will usurp the social and religious privileges of the Brāhmaṇas etc.<sup>34</sup> But, in fact, the foreign peoples could not upset the traditional social order. On the contrary, they themselves were absorbed within the Indian social system. An extract from the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (On Pāṇini, II. 4.10) indicates that in the second century B.C. the Śakas and Yavanas lived outside the pale of Āryāvarta, but were regarded as high class Śūdras eligible, unlike the Chaṇḍālas and Mritapas, to offer sacrifices and to take meals from an Aryan's dish without polluting it permanently. In the Manusāṁhitā (X. 43-44) it is stated: The following Kshatriya tribes have gradually sunk to the condition of the Śūdras, viz., the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Chīnas, the Kirātas, the Daradas etc. The Mahābhārata (xiii. 33. 21) also includes the Śakas and the Yavanas in a list of degraded Kshatriya peoples. In the Epic (xii. 65. 13-22) Śakas, Yavanas, Tushāras (Tocharians) and Pahlavas are declared to be eligible for the performance of Vedic religious acts and minor sacrifices. The Dharma Sūtra of Gautama (I. 4. 17) regards the Yavanas as the off-spring of a marriage between a Kshatriya and a Śūdra woman. The Milindapañha (329) refers to the Kshatriya lineage of King Milinda (Menander). In the second century A.D. the princess belonging to the



- ✓ Kārddamaka royal family and daughter of mahākshatrapa Rudradāman was accepted in marriage by Vāśishthīputra Śātakarṇi, a prince of orthodox Sātavāhana dynasty, as we learn from the Kānheri Cave Inscription.<sup>35</sup>

While ancient law-givers themselves took an initiative to incorporate the foreign peoples in the indigeous social system, the peoples like the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Tukhāras embraced Indian religions and became gradually Indianised. The Greek ruler Menander became a staunch Buddhist under the influence and guidance of the Buddhist monk Nāgasena. The use of 'dharma-cakra' and the title of 'dhārmika' on Menander's coins, and the enshrinement of the relics of Buddha — as we come to know from the Bajaur relic casket inscription — by Viyakamitra attest to the Greek King's patronage towards Buddhism. The Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription leaves no doubt that Heliodorus, the envoy of Antialkidas, became an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu, by embracing Bhāgavatism. Donative inscriptions of the Yavanas, signifying their inclination or conversion to Buddhism, are found at Sāñchī, Kārle, Nāsik and Junnār. Likewise the Śaka-Pahlavas accepted Indian faiths. Hindu deities like Śiva, Umā and Lakshmī made their appearance on Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coinage. The inscriptions at Nāsik and Kārle show how Kshaharāta Satrap Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta made his pilgrimage to Indian tirthas and offered various kinds of gifts to the Brāhmaṇas. The Kushāṇa coinage would show that the Tukhāra rulers, Wema Kadphises and Kaniskha declared their faith in Śiva-bhagavatism and Mahāyāna Buddhism respectively.

The foregoing discussion might be a pointer to the fact that the traditional social order of India lay undisturbed in spite of mass migration of foreign peoples. Society comprising four varṇas (castes) with their distinctive duties and occupations was upheld by Manu and Yājñavalkya, the Mahābhārata and even by the Buddhist



texts like the *Milindapañha*. In the *Lalitavistara* ( I. p. 245 ) there is a reference to a caste-unification (*sarvair ekajāti pratibaddhai*). It is difficult to assume that there was an attempt to integrate the different social units. However, among the four *varṇas* the *Brāhmaṇas* are accorded the highest place in all the *Smritis* and the *Epics*. But in the *Milindapañha* (5, 122, 331) as well as the *Lalitavistara* (I. 20) the *Kshatriyas* precede the *Brāhmaṇas* in the order of castes. Again, in the *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, the *Śramaṇas* along with the *Brāhmaṇas* occupy the highest status in social life, and next comes the status of the ruling class, the *Kshatriyas*. It seems that the undisputed privileged position of the priestly class was not acceptable in all quarters. Because, the performance of sacrifices, for which the *Brāhmaṇas* versed in the *Vedas* were primarily meant, was not looked upon as a system capable of satisfying the religious emotions of the common people. But *Brāhmaṇas*, not by occupation alone but by ideal (as depicted in the *Milindapañha*, 225-26 ), probably used to be closely associated with the *Śramaṇas* with whom was entrusted the noble task of maintaining the discipline (*vinaya*) of monastic order (*Samgha*). The *Śramaṇas* might as well represent those who had taken to the *āśrama* known as *Vānaprastha* and become 'Yatis', or 'parivrājakas'. Strabo (XV.1.59) refers to the *Brachmanes* (*Brāhmaṇas*) and the *Sarmanes* (*Śramaṇas*) together indicating that they were granted special treatment in society.

Teaching, studying, sacrificing for himself, sacrificing for others, making gifts and receiving them are the six acts prescribed for a *Brāhmaṇa* ( *Manu* X.75 ). The duties of Vedic study, of sacrificing for himself and of making gifts are shared by the *Kshatriyas* and the *Vaiśyas* with the *Brāhmaṇas*. But to carry arms for striking and for throwing is prescribed for *Kshatriyas* as a means of subsistence ; to trade, to rear cattle and agriculture is recommended for *Vaiśyas* ( *Manu* X. 79 ). In the *Epics* emphasis



has been laid upon fighting as an occupation of the Kshatriyas. In the Milindapañha (178) it is said that a prince is to learn the arts of managing horses, elephants and chariots, as well as those of writing and accounts, and of waging war. Here we find no mention of the Vedic study often referred to by Manu and other Smṛiti-writers as one of the duties of the Kshatriyas. This omission in the Buddhist text was most probably intentional. However, among the seven classes<sup>36</sup> into which Megasthenes divided the Indian society, the soldiers, the magistrates (that is administrative officials) and the councillors may be incorporated in the Kshatriya caste.

The Milindapañha (178) assigns the duties of trade and agriculture. Fick<sup>37</sup> draws our attention to the frequent references to 'gahapatis' and 'gāmabhojakas' in the Jātakas. He suggests that the term 'gahapati' referred either to the land-owning gentry, or to the rich urban families. In the light of the Votive inscriptions<sup>38</sup> of the early centuries before and after the Christian era recording donations of the gahapatis at Sāñchī, Bhārhut, Nanāghāt, Junnār and Amarāvati, it may be reasonable to hold that the particular social class included merchants, farmers, caravan-leaders and treasurers. Therefore, the grihapati formed the rich class of the country and might have acted as financiers both to the cultivators and the tradesmen<sup>39</sup>. The 'gāmabhojakas', who were probably land-lords<sup>40</sup>, appear to be the same as Kuṭumbikas of the Votive inscription. The Śreshṭhins and their relatives record their donations in the Votive inscriptions<sup>42</sup> at Mathurā, Sāñchī and Kārle. The Mahāvastu Avadāna (III. 112-114, 442-443) refers to the people of the trade-centres, that is, the merchant-people with their chief, the Śreshṭhins at the head (Śreshṭhipramukha vaṇig-grāma) and other trading people with their caravan-leader at the head (Sārthavāhapramukha vaṇig grama) and eighteen kinds of śreṇis or guilds. The Śreshṭhin was the chief of the merchants and acted as bankers, while it was the



primary function of the *Sārthavāha* to lead caravans from one place to other over a long distance. The *Milindapañha* (17) tells us a story of a merchant of *Pāṭaliputra* journeying at the head of his caravan from North-Western India to his own city. The *Mahāvastu* (III) mentions merchants crossing over the heavy season ships laden with merchandise. In a few inscriptions the *seṭṭhi* is also referred to as *grihapati*<sup>43</sup> or son of *grihapati*. The term 'Vanik' is found in a solitary inscription<sup>44</sup> recording the gift of *Pusikanagapriya*, a *Vanik's* wife.

The status of *Śūdra*, the fourth *varṇa*, is known by his divinely ordained duty discharging services to the other three classes, especially the *Brāhmaṇas* who in their turn are bound to feed, clothe and maintain him (Manu I. 91; X. 123-25). The *Śūdra* in general is forbidden to study the *Veda* and to perform sacrifices. It has been said: "(The King) should carefully compel *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* to perform the work (prescribed) for them; for if these two (castes) swerved from their duties, they would throw this (whole) world into confusion." But, in times of distress, the *Śūdra* is allowed to maintain himself by handicrafts, those mechanical occupations and those various practical arts by following which the twice-born are best served (Manu X. 99-100). In the *Mahābhārata* we read that the *Śūdra*, if without his ordained occupation, can live by trade, animal-rearing and industry (Mbh. XII. 293-294). In the *Milindapañha* (178) the *Śūdra* is found to have lived by agriculture and trade. In such cases, the status of the *Śūdra* was equated to that of the *Vaiśya*. The *Śūdra* caste might have consisted of different economic classes of *Megasthenes* (Diodorus II. 40-41) namely, the farmers, the herdsmen and the artisans. In *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya* (On *Pāṇini*. II-4.10) we find inclusion of several classes and peoples in the *Śūdra* Caste: the *Chāṇḍālas* and *Mṛtapas* completely outside the *Aryan* fold; the carpenters, washermen, blacksmiths and weavers who



were debarred from performing sacrifices but were not untouchables ; besides, the Śakas and Yavans, who were entitled to perform sacrifices and to take food on an Aryan dish. The Lalitavistara ( I. 20 ) mentions the Chāṇḍālas and the Pukkusas along with the bamboo-workers and chariot-makers as typical examples of low castes.

Whoever might be the land-owner, cultivation depended upon the Śūdras or the low-caste people. In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra ( II. 1 ) is found a scheme of state-planned colonization of the rural area, according to which the initiative is to be taken by the government for settling between a hundred and five hundred families of industrious efficient cultivators, mostly the Śūdras by caste, in a single village. It is indicated that the Śūdras were the cultivators<sup>45</sup> and that new villages were built in the waste-land by deported Śūdras from over-populated areas and from conquered territories. The right of the Śūdra to his property is recognised both in the Manu-Saṁhitā and the Mahābhārata ( XIII. 47. 56 ). The Śūdra might bequeath his property in equal shares among his sons ( Manu IX. 157 ). The ploughman, known as Karsha or Karshaka, after removing the soil weeds, thorns and stones, ploughed the land. This was followed by sowing, irrigating, fencing, watching, reaping the standing crop, and finally after threshing it, the cultivator became the owner of much produce ( Milindapañha, 360 ). It is known from the Jātakas<sup>46</sup> that the gahapatis and the gāma-bhojakas employed hired labourers on the land, whose living conditions were poor but not as bad as those of the dāsa ( slave ). It seems that the Śūdra cultivators used to work in his own land and at times in that of the land-lords, as and when necessary.

The Śūdra used to maintain himself not only by farming but also by different traders connected with handicrafts, mechanical and practical arts. The Mahāvastu-Avadāna furnishes us with different categories ; blacksmith ( loha-kārika ), coppersmith ( tāmrakutta ), goldsmith ( suvarṇakāra ),



tin-smith (trapukāraka), makers of tools and instruments (Yantakāraka), garlandmakers (mālākāra), potter (Kumbhakāra), tanner (Charmakāra), dyer (rakta-rajaka), washerman (rajaka), cloth-weavers (tantravāya), painter (Chitrakāra), Carpenter (Vardhaki), barber (nāpita), plasterer or mason (lepaka), architect (sthapati) etc.<sup>47</sup> A large number of humble professions are also known to us from the inscriptions of the early centuries before and after the Christian era.<sup>48</sup>

According to Manu (IV. 80), the Śūdra is unfit for sacraments and should not be given religious instructions or made to perform vows. The privilege of Vedic study and the performance of Vedic sacrifices is zealously guarded against the Śūdra. The rise of the Bhakti cult, however, paved the way to religious equality. The doctrines of Bhāgavatism, as propounded in the didactic sections of the Great Epic and the Purāṇas, show that it extended to the Śūdras and the untouchable the privilege of worshipping and attaining liberation.<sup>49</sup> The Bhagavad Gītā (IX. 32) summarised all the previous doctrines and established the cult of bhakti in the supreme God, the only way of emancipation open even to women and the Śūdra. In the Āśvamedhika parvan of the Mahābhārata (116.22) it is stated that a wise man should not disregard even a Chāṇḍāla who is a devotee of Viṣṇu. Worship, beginning from the simple Japa (repetition of the name of god) to the complicated form of ritual consisting of an elaborate arrangement for propitiating the 'devatā' (God) with a large number of offerings (upachāras) became the most popular religious practice. The Vedic gods, usually propitiated by sacrifices, were replaced by Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Krishṇa and Śiva, who has features reminiscent of the three-headed figure on the Indus seal and whose family is headed by his consort Pārvatī, the Mother Goddess. 'They were personal gods whom everyone could worship'. The complete repudiation of Vedic sacrifices is found in



the Buddhist texts like the Mahāvastu Avadāna ( II. 95 ff ; II. 436 ff. ). The Lokottaravādin sect of the Mahāsāṃghika school deified Buddha who should be regarded as a god above all gods, and laid stress on Buddha-bhakti, the Master being an object of devotion and worship to His devotees. An opportunity was given to the masses to satisfy their religious emotions. During the centuries preceding the Christian era devotees had to content themselves with worshipping symbols. In post-Christian period the erection and worship of Buddha images came into vogue. Devotees found a means for expressing their devotion. The contents of the Buddhisi text Saddharmapūṇḍarīka ( II ) represent an advanced form of Mahāyāna Buddhism, symbolised with Buddha worship, the cult of the relics and image worship, and dedication of Buddhist stūpas and vihāras. The text was influenced, it has been suggested, by the Krishṇa-cult, the Vedānta and the Bhagavad Gītā<sup>50</sup>. Kern<sup>51</sup> noticed the similarity in the Buddhist and Brahmanical outlook centring round Buddha, helping all those who seek refuge in him. The influence of the Bhagavad Gītā is perceptible in this aspect.

The divinities on the Kushāṇa coins are varied in nature and representative in character, including Indian, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, Iranian and Greek. In the nationwide arrangement of the deities may be listed Indian Śiva, Umā, Kārttikeya and Buddha, Iranian Athsho, Ardoksho, Luhrasp, Mao, Mihira, Nana, Orlagno, Pharro, Manaobhago, Oaninda, Shaoreoro etc. and Greek Herakles, Zeus, Helios and Salene. The gods and goddesses, in most cases, reflect the religious beliefs of the nationalities whom the Kushāṇas ruled. While the Scytho-Parthians, due to their long-continued contact with the Iranians, were naturally expected to be Iranised, the Greeks in Bactria and India, as their coins show, stuck to their own religious beliefs. The Kushāṇas, more akin to the Śakas, might have chosen Iranianism. The process of Indianisation was true in cases of all migrating foreign peoples.



*Ethnic Settlements*

The Kushāṇa coins, not the epigraphs, give us an idea about the different ethnic groups settled in different parts of India and Central Asia. But it is difficult to know the exact boundaries of different ethnic settlements. The Epics and the Purāṇas are not of much help in this regard: Because, the list of peoples, as recorded in the Epic and Puranic texts, was altered to receive late additions and was brought upto date from time to time by the inclusion of the geography of an ever increasing number of tribes and countries of different ages. Some of the names in the list take us back to the Vedic age, while the mention of the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Tukhāras (second century B.C. to third century A.D.), the Huṇas (fifth century A.D.) as well as the Turushkas (Muhammadans), show the wide range of informations collected together<sup>52</sup>. Varāhamihira's Brihatsamhitā, assigned to the sixth century A.D., might be of significant guidance to us in searching for the ethnic settlements in the early centuries preceding the age of Varāhamihira, migration of people from one part of the country to the other rarely occurring at long intervals.

84. According to the text of the Brihatsamhitā (Chapter 14), the peoples living in the west are named as Aparāntakas, Śāntikas, Haihayas, Vokkāṇas, Ramaṭhas, Pāratas, Tārakshiti, Jriṅgas, Vaiśyas and Mlechhas. In the North-west lived the Māṇḍavyas, Tukhāras, Tālas, Madras, Aśmakas, Kulūtas, Lahaḍas, Khasthas, Phalgunakas, Guruhas, Car-maraṅgas, Ekavilochana, Śūlikas, Dīrghagrīvas, Dīrghāśya and Dīrghakeśas. In the Northern division is assigned the habitat of the people like Uttara-kurus, Kaikeyas, Vasātis, Yāmunas, Ārjunāyanas, Āgnīdhras, Trigartas, Vāṭadhānas, Śaradhānas, Kailāvatas, Kaṇṭhadhānas, Ambaras, Madrakas, Mālavas, Pauravas, Hūṇas, Gāndhāras, Rājanyas, Yaudheyas, Śyāmakas, Kshemadhūrtas. In the North-eastern division are placed the Kīras, Kāshmiras, Daradas, Kīrātas, Cīnas, Kauṇindas, Khashas, Ghoshas, Kucikas. In the East are



found the Suhmas, Karvaṭas, Magadhas, Videhas, Oḍras, Prāgjyotishas, Lauhityas, Gaudakas, Paundras, Utkalas, Kāśīs, Mekalas, Ambashṭhas, Tāmraliptikas, Kośalakas. The Brihatsamhitā tells us that the Central division was inhabited by the Bhadras, Arimedas, Ujjihānas, Marus, Vatsas, Sārasvatas, Matsyas, Mādhyamikas, Māthurakas, Sūrasenas, Uddehikas, Aśmakas, Pañcālas, Sāketas, Kurus, Kukuras, Audumbaras.

In the Northern division the Vāyu Purāṇa includes the Bālhikas (Bactrians), Pahlavas (Medians), Yavanas (Greeks), Tukhāras (Tokharians), Cīnas (Chinese), Lampākas (Murundās), Śūlikas (associated with the Bālhikas), the associated peoples of the Hūṇas and the Ramaṭhas, the Kāmbojas etc. It transpires that the races of the far distant Oxus valley formed an integral part of ancient Indian ethnographical tradition<sup>53</sup>. A close acquaintance with the Central Asian peoples of the trans-Indus and even the trans-Himalayan regions is indicated in the Purāṇic as well as the astronomical texts like the Brihatsamhitā. It may be argued that the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Tukhāras came to settle well within the boundaries of India and their mention in the indigenous texts was quite natural. But this line of argument might not be applicable in the case of all the Central Asian Peoples.

The ethnic settlements in the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges are suggested by the numismatic evidences<sup>54</sup>. The lands of the Ārjunayanas, mentioned in the Brihatsamhitā, lay within the Delhi-Jaipur-Agra region. The Audumbaras, put by Varāhamihira in the Central Division, were settled in the region between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi. The Kulūtas, who appear in the list of the peoples of the north-east and also of the north-west divisions of the Brihatsamhitā, were the inhabitants of the Kulu Valley in the Kangra district of the Punjab. The Kaunindas are placed by Varāhamihira in the north-east division and are associated with the Kāshmiras, Kulutas and Sairindhas.



The distribution of their coins suggest that the Kuṇindas occupied the territories between the Jumna and the Sutlej and between the Beas and the Sutlej. Varāhamihira classes the Mālavas with the peoples of the North. The Mahābhārata ( Sabhā-Parvam, xxxii, 7 ) places them in the Punjab with the Sibis and the Trigartas. The provenance of the coins of the Mālavas show them occupying an area in Eastern Rajputana. The Māthurakas and the Surasenas, placed by Varāhamihira, are to be associated the Mathurā region where a large number of Kushāṇa epigraphs<sup>55</sup> have been discovered. The Kośalakas included in the list of the Eastern peoples are to be associated with the Sāketas placed in the Central division. Those peoples were the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Kośala, of which Ayodhyā was the capital. The Pañcālas of Varāhamihira are to be assigned the territories around Ahichhatra, the capital of the Pañcāla kingdom. In the Brihatsamhitā the Rājanyas are counted among the peoples of the North. The findspots of the coins of the Rājanyas indicate that they inhabited mainly in the Hoshiarpur district of the Punjab. Varāhamihira puts the Sibis in the north with the Mālavas and the people of Taxila and with the Arjunayanas and the Yaudheyas ( Brihatsamhitā, xvi, 26 ; xvii, 19 ). But the coins of the Sibis come only from a limited area in western Rajputana. The Uddehikas are placed by Varāhamihira in the Central division. Al-beruni places Uddehika 112 miles south-west of Kanauj. In the Brihatsamhitā ( xiv. 28 ) the Yaudheyas are listed with the Rājanyas, Mālavas and other peoples in the northern division. The numismatic evidences suggest that the Yaudheyas were settled in modern Johiyābār on the banks of the river Sutlej. The tribal coins show that the tribes settled in the Punjab and Rajputana had to submit to the Kushāṇas.

Among the Eastern peoples listed in the Brihatsamhitā the Kāśīs inhabited probably the Benares region, the Videhas North Bihar, the Magadhas South Bihar, the Odras



Orissa, and the Gaṇḍakas, Paundras, Suhmas, Tāmraliptikas were settled in different parts of North and South Bengal. The provenance of the Kushāṇa inscriptions and coins show that those eastern peoples were brought under the dominance of the Kushāṇas. The Kushāṇa king Kaṇishka had a sweeping victory over the King of the Magadhas, Videhas, Sāketas and Kośalakas, if we are to believe in the Chinese and Tibetan traditions indicating the submission of the king of Pāṭaliputra and Sāketa to the Kushāṇa authority. If the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins are considered to be imitations of the imperial Kushāṇa coinage, it is likely that the Oḍras had to submit to the might of the Kushāṇas. The few Kushāṇa coins discovered in the areas of the Gaṇḍakas, Paundras, Suhmas and Tāmraliptikas at least show their economic, if not political, dependence upon the Kushāṇas. But we have not yet any evidence to show that the Prāggyotishas, or the Lauhityas had to lose their independence to the foreign rulers.

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*Chapter II*

## TERRITORY

The ideal kingdom, in the eyes of the poet Aśvaghosha, is the Śākya territory with Kapilavāstu as its ideal city or capital, as in the description of Vālmiki the ideal kingdom was Kośala with Ayodhyā as its ideal chief city. Vālmiki's Rāma-rājya may be visualised in the happy state of things which according to Aśvaghosha's description in the *Buddha Charita* (II, 1-19), is said to have prevailed in the Śākya territory since the birth of Siddhārtha. To denote the Śākya territory Aśvaghosha often uses the term "rājya" and once the term "Rāshṭra" is used (*Buddha Charita*, II, 15): "Steयādibhiścāpya-ribhiṣca nashtaṁ Svashtaṁ Svacakram Paracakramuktaṁ/Kshemaṁ Subhikshaṁ ca Vabhūba tasya Purānaranyasya Yathaiba Rāshṭram//". In the *Manusamhitā* (IX. 294) "Rāshṭra" i.e. territory is taken as one of the constituent elements of 'rājya', kingdom or realm of the king. But in the *Arthaśāstra* (VI. 1) an ideal "Janapada" (territory including population) is defined in the following way: "Has favourably situated cities and towns, with means to maintain its own population and others in times of calamity, well-guarded with easy means of livelihood, averse to the enemy, can cope with neighbouring rulers, free from miry, rocky, marshy, uneven and thorny tracts, as well as from tigers, wild beasts and wild tracts, attractive; containing plenty of good cultivable lands, mines, timber, elephant, forests and pasture grounds, excels in arts and crafts, has hidden passages, rich cattle, not dependent on rain-water only, provided with land and waterways, has an extensive trade in various kinds of merchandise, can bear the burden of a vast army and heavy taxation, has a good and active peasantry, full of intelligent masters and servants, with a population noted for its loyalty and moral purity — these are the charac-



teristics of a good territory".<sup>1</sup> Kauṭilya's definition closely resembles the description of the prosperous kingdom under a just king found in the Mahāvastu Avadāna ( III. 34-347 ), a post-Kauṭilyan treatise.<sup>2</sup> However, the population-aspect of the Kushāṇa-Janapada has already been discussed. Let us now examine the territory-aspect of the Kushāṇa-Rāshṭra.

### *Origin of the Kushanshahr*

The Chinese accounts refer to the Yue-Chi as a nomadic tribe moving along with their herds, in the second century B.C. in the territory lying in the north-west of the modern Chinese province of Kan Su. Through many vicissitudes of fortune, the nomadic horde, in course of their westward migration came to settle permanently in Bactria. Chang Kien's report tells us that about 128 B.C. the Yue-chi were no longer nomads and had begun their sedentary, living, being settled permanently in Bactria, their chosen land. The Annals of the First Han Dynasty of Pan-Ku ( Chapter 96 ) informs us that the kingdom of the Yue-chi has for its capital the town of Kien-chi ( Lan-shan ) and Ki-pin lies on its southern frontier ; that the Yue-Chi kingdom had divided into five principalities, each under a hi-hou, viz. Hiu-mi with the capital Homo, Shuang-mi with the capital of the same name, Kuei-shuang with the capital Hu-tsao, Hi-tun with the capital Po-mao and Kao-fu with the capital of the same name. Prof. Marquart in his "Eransahr" has identified Hiu-mi with present Wakhan, Shuang-mi with Chitral, Kuei-Shuang with the country immediately to the north of Gandhāra or with Gandhāra itself, Hi-tun with Parwan on the Panjshir and Kao-fu with Kabul.

The History of the Second Han Dynasty by Fan Ye ( Chapter 118 ) tells us that after having dwelled in Bactria for about a hundred years, the Yue-chi came under the domination of one of the five constituent chiefs, the prince



of Kuei-shuang, who attacked and subjugated the other four principalities and made himself "wang" or lord of a kingdom which was called Kuei-shuang, that is, "Kushāṇa". Thus the process of building up of Kushanshahr in Bactria became complete by the last quarter of the first century B.C. The nomadic horde chose Bactria as their home and converted it into their original kingdom. It may be called the "Svarāshṭra" of the Kushāṇas, if we make use of the Kāmandakiya term.

### *Vijaya-rajya*

The Annals of the Second Han Dynasty ( Ch. 118. 9a ) records that Kieou-tsieou-Kio ( i.e. Kujula Kadphises known from coins ), the prince of the Kuei-shuang invaded An-si ( Parthia or parts of Indo-Parthian realm in Afghanistan ), took possession of the territory of Kao-fu ( possibly Kabul ) and destroyed Pu-ta ( possibly a district in Central Afghanistan ) and Ki-pin ( possibly Gandhāra and the lower Swat Valley ) before he died at the age of eighty. His son Yen Kao Chen ( i.e. Wema Kadphises known from coins ), on his accession to the throne, conquered Tien-tchou ( i.e. India ) and there set up generals who governed in the name of the Yue-chi. The Panjtar stone inscription,<sup>3</sup> dated in the year 122, refers to "Maharayasa Gushaṇasa" and thus indicates that by A.D. 64 the Kushāṇas conquered the region to the west of the Indus. The Taxila silver scroll inscription<sup>4</sup> of the year 136, referring to "Maharaja Rajatiraja Devapatra Khushaṇasa", shows that by A.D. 78 the Kushāṇas had consolidated their position in North-West India.

The Indian dominions of Wema Kadphises, son of Kujula Kadphises, most probably extended to the Ganges, as far south as Banares.<sup>5</sup> The seated image of the Kushāṇa emperor ( Kushāṇaputra ) called Vematakshama at Mathurā<sup>6</sup> is supposed to be that of Wema Kadphises and hence the exten-



sion of his dominions as far as Mathurā may be recognised. The extensive finds of Wema Kadphises's coins, in large number, as far as Basarh, Bhiṭā and Kāsiā<sup>7</sup> make it evident that his sphere of influence increased to a great extent upto the extremity of the Middle Country. Soter Megas, the Nameless King, whose coins were found extensively in the Punjab, in the Kandahar and Kabul regions, and as far as Mathurā<sup>8</sup> in the east, might have been ruling under Wema Kadphises.

The waxing of the Kushanshahr, the realm of Kushāṇas, continued with an undaunted spirit of aggrandizement symbolised in Kanishka ( 78-101 A.D. ) whose chronological position is a problem yet to be solved satisfactorily. The findspots of his inscriptions dated in the year 1 (?) at Peshwar<sup>9</sup>, 2 at Kosām<sup>10</sup>, 3 at Sāranāth<sup>11</sup>, 4 to 23 at Mathurā<sup>12</sup>, 11 at Sui Vihār ( Bhawalpur )<sup>13</sup> and Zedā ( Und )<sup>14</sup>, 18 at Manikiālā ( Rawalpiṇḍi )<sup>15</sup> suggest the Kushāṇa emperor's dominance over the territories as far as Benares in the east and Bhawalpur in the south-west. Literary evidence from Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅginī is supposed to favour the view that Kanishka held sway over Kāshmirā. From the Tibetan sources<sup>16</sup> it is learnt that the Kushāṇa monarch overthrew the King of Sāketa ( Ayodhyā ). The Śrīdharmapiṭakanidānasūtra ( translated into Chinese )<sup>17</sup> refers to the defeat of the King of Pāṭaliputra and the demand by Chen-tan Kia-ni-cha of a large indemnity, but agreeing to accept Aśvaghosha, the Buddha's alms-bowl and a miraculous cock. Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā ( translated into Chinese ) tells us that Chen-Kia-ni-Cha ( Devaputra Kanishka ) conquered Tung-Tien-tchou ( Eastern India ) and pacified the country<sup>17</sup>. Large number of coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva have been discovered in different parts of the U.P., Bihar and West Bengal<sup>18</sup>. In the south, Kanishka's sway extended as far as the Malwa region where his son Vāsishka of the Sāñchī Inscription<sup>19</sup>, dated in the year 22, acted as his viceroy.



The Sāñchī Bodhisattva Inscription<sup>20</sup> of Mahārāja Rājātī-rāja Devaputra Vāsishka, dated in the year 28, shows the maintenance of the Kushāṇa hold over the Malwa region even after Kanishka.

According to Hiuen Tsang ( Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, p. 50 ), Kanishka, King of Gandhāra, extended his authority over Central Asia and governed by his vast army a wide territory even to the east the Tsung-ling mountain. A tributary state of China to the west of the Yellow river sent him the royal princes as hostages. Sten Konow ( Corpus. Ins. Ind., pp. lxxv-lxxvii ) suggested that Kanishka belonged to the Little Yue-Chi tribe and that he rose to power in Khotan. Except for one Tibetan source cited by Konow, this notion fails to stand on the support of other evidences. Prof. Bailey traces reference to a King Chandra-Kanishka of the kingdom of Bahlaka, in a Khotanese manuscript<sup>21</sup>. The reference to Bakanpati making a perpetual endowment at Mathurā according to the evidence of the Mathurā Inscription<sup>22</sup> of the year 28, probably indicates that the lord of Wakhan was subordinate to the Kushāṇa authority. The Kushāṇa sway over Central Asia, including Balkh and Khotan, is further based on the archaeological excavations conducted by the Russian scholars including Tolstov<sup>23</sup> in Khwarejm and other places. However, Kanishka's political control over Central Asia was weakened to a great extent under the pressure of the Chinese general Pan Chao sometime after 90 A.D. The Later Han Annals ( Chapter 77, 4a-7a ) informs that the Han Emperor Ho-ti ( A.D. 88-106 ) sent his general Pan Chao to bring the western regions under the control of the Han. Pan-Chao's reports indicate that the Yue-Chi were at first amenable to the cause of the Han but later became hostile. The hostility between the Hans and the Yue-chi precipitated into an all out war in 90 A.D. The Yue-chis were defeated and compelled to pay tribute<sup>24</sup>. Controversies on chronological problems



might arise in this connection. But the "Legends of Kanishka", as quoted by Levi, represent the Kushāṇa monarch's military successes in all directions except the North<sup>25</sup>. It probably signifies short duration of Kanishka's rule over Central Asia. On the other hand, it may be said that it was Wema Kadphises who lost to Pan-chao and the great Kanishka's confession in the "Legends" might be ignored. But we have as yet no evidence at our disposal to show any association of Wema Kadphises with the Central Asian politics. Whatever that might be, we have to accept that the territory under the Kushāṇa dominance stretched from the Valley of the Oxus to that of the Ganges. "It is difficult precisely to define the waxing or waning of the Kushanashahr at any given moment".<sup>26</sup>

Huvishka succeeded in maintaining the Kushāṇa hold over the territory from the Oxus to the upper Gangetic Valley. It is significant to notice that no record of his time has yet been discovered beyond Mathurā in the East. The kingdom of "Kaspeiraioi" (acc. to Levi, kingdom of the Devaputras or the Kushāṇas) extended from the Jhelum to Mathurā in the time of Ptolemy, the geographer.<sup>27</sup> However, the two records found at Mathurā refer to gifts and donations made by Bakanapati (lord of Wakhan) in the year 28 and by monk Jivaka, native of Uḍiyāna in the year 47.<sup>28</sup> The Ārā stone inscription of the year 41, referring to Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kaisara Kanishka, son of Vājshesha (Vāsishka), shows that the Kushāṇas still held sway over North-West Frontier Provinces of India. The Rājatarāṅginī, referring to Hushkapura, Jushkapura and Kanishkapura, implies that Kāshmir was in the realm of the Kushāṇas in the second century A.D. The findspot of the Surkh-Kotal inscription dated in the year 31 and of the Wardak vase inscription of the year 51 prove the inclusion of Afghanistan in the Kushanashahr.

Vāsudeva, who probably ruled upto the end of the (145-176 A.D.) second century A.D., had his sway over



Mathurā and its adjoining regions, the only find-spots of the records of his time. Coins bearing the name of Vāsudeva have been discovered in large number over a vast region, at Sahri Bahlol.<sup>29</sup> Jāmalgarhi<sup>30</sup>, at Sirkap and other places in Taxila<sup>31</sup> and at Begram.<sup>32</sup> But it is difficult to assume the identity of Vāsudeva known from the coins with Vāsudeva known from the Mathurā records.

Yu-Houan, the author of the *We-liu* (A History of the Wei Dynasty)<sup>33</sup> tells us that the Yue-chi power was flourishing in Ki-pin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra), Ta-hia (Bactria), Kao-fu (Kabul) and Tien-tchou (India) as late as the second quarter of the third century A.D. Numismatic evidences<sup>34</sup> suggest that the Later Kushana King Kanishka III's (180-210 A.D.) sway extended over the region extending from the Punjab to Bactria and Afghanistan. But Vāsudeva II's (210-230 A.D.) rule had to be withdrawn from the Punjab and North-West India and became confined to Bactria and Afghanistan.

About the middle of the fourth century A.D. the Kushāṇas came to acquire a new designation, "Kidāra". The existence of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas in some parts of the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir is vouched for by the discovery of a large number of coins in pale and much debased gold.<sup>35</sup> In the annals of the Wei dynasty Kidāra is described as a king belonging to the Ta Yue-Chi tribe whose capital was originally at Lou-Kien-chi (Balkh). The tribe had to migrate westwards under the threatening pressure of the Juan-Juans. Kidāra crossed to the south of the Hindukush, invaded India, where the five kingdoms to the north of Kan-tho-lo (Gandhāra) submitted to him."<sup>36</sup> Ma-twan-lin refers to the Kidāra-Kushāṇas as the Little-Yue-Chi who made the town of Fou-leou-cha (Peshawar) their capital. Kidāra's son was put in charge of this town.<sup>37</sup>

The Allahabad pillar inscription informs us that the "Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhis", that is, the descendants



of the Imperial Kushāṇas, entered into relationship with Samudragupta by offering their own persons for service to the emperor (ātmanivedanam), gifts of maidens (Kanyopāyanadāna) and begging for charters bearing the Garuḍa seal for the enjoyment of their own territories (Garutmadāṅka-sva-vishaya-bhukti-śāsana-yācana). "Sva-Vishaya-bhukti" of the Kushāṇas or "their own territories" most probably stand for the kingdom in and around Gandhāra, with their capital at the town of Peshawar, about the middle of the fourth century A.D. and even a little later.

The Chinese sources, the epigraphic and numismatic evidences give us an impression that the Kushāṇas, having brought under possession their original kingdom of Kuei-shuang, gradually established an imperial unity in Bactria at the end of the first century B.C. In the next stage, they are found to have followed the policy of expanding sphere of political influence. By A.D. 78 the Kushāṇas began to rule in India proper, after having annexed the territories lying between Balkh and Taxila. At the third stage, by the beginning of the second century A.D., the Kushāṇas reached the zenith of their power, having enjoyed political supremacy over Central Asia including parts of the Tarim basin, almost all over Northern India and as far south as Malwa in the trans-Vindhyan India. According to the Chinese evidences, quoted above, the Kushāṇa influence over the Tarim basin was withdrawn by 90 A.D., although it continued in Bactria and its adjoining regions upto the middle of the third century A.D. Available evidences show that in the first three decades of the second century A.D. effective control of the Kushāṇas was established over Afghanistan. From the second half of the second century A.D., the symptoms of disintegration of the vast empire became gradually prominent. The most distinctive feature of this period is the withdrawal of the Kushāṇas from the interior parts of India and the concentration of their



power in North West Frontier Provinces of India, Bactria and Afghanistan. Ultimately, the Kushāṇa territory or realm or the Kushanshahr had been reduced to the kingdom of Gandhāra only before its final extinction under the avalanche-attack of the Hūṇas in the fifth century A.D.

## KUSHAN CENTRAL ASIA

### *Tokharestan*

Tokharestan, the land of the Tukhāras, must have been the original area from which the Kushanshahr grew.<sup>38</sup> According to Hiuen Tsang's description<sup>39</sup> the land was bounded by the Panjshir Range on the south, the Iron Gate (Derbent near Badakshan) on the north, Persia on the west and the Tsung-ling or the Hindukush mountains on the east. The principalities of the Tu-ho-lo country as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang may give us an idea of the administrative divisions of Tokharestan under the Kushāṇas. Those are : Ta-mi (Termez), Chi-kia-yen-na (Saghaniyan), Hu-lu-mo (Akhrun), Su-man (east of Akhrun). Ku-ho-yen-na (Karategin), Huo-sha (east of Karategin), Ku-tu-lo (Khottalan), Ku-mi-to' (Komed), Fo-ka-lang (Baghlam), Kie-lu-shi-min-kan (Rub and Simingan), Hu-lin (Khulm), Fo-ho (Balkh), Yue-mei-to' (Zumathan), Hu-si-Kan (Gozgan), Ta-la-kan (Talequan), Kie-chin (Gaz), An-ta-lo-fo (Anderab), Kuo-si-to (Khust), Huo (Kunduz), Mang-Kan (Mungkan), A-li-ni (Arhāṅg), Ho-lo-hu (Raghwān), Ki-li-si-mo (Kism), Po-li-ho (Bolor), Hi-mo-to-lo (Hematala), Po-to-Ch'ang-na (Badakshan), Yin-po-Kien (Yambakan), Ku-lang-na (Karran) and Ta-mo-si-tie-ti (Wakhan). The list of divisions shows that Tokharestan was situated on both the banks of the Oxus, bounded by Sogdiana on the north and the Tarim basin on the east. In some provinces, referred to in Hiuen Tsang's list, archaeological excavations have yielded traces of the Kushāṇa rule.



The principal city in Bactria was Balkh, standing on the plain of the Oxus, at a short distance from the river, on its southern bank. It was undoubtedly one of the basic centres of Kushāṇa polity and an important Buddhist town. It is evidenced from the Chinese sources that in the year 2 B.C. King Ai-ti of the Former Han Dynasty received from the king of the Yue-chi of Balkh an ambassador bringing sacred Buddhist books.<sup>40</sup> A Khotanese manuscript found at Tun-huang states that Chandra Kaniska ruled in Balkh.<sup>41</sup> About A.D. 239 the Annals of the Wei dynasty indicates that Balkh was still in the hands of the Yue-chi.<sup>42</sup> Balkh was probably the chief centre for coin-minting, as its name appears on Kushāṇa-Sassanian coins. According to Hiuen Tsang's description, the city was known as Little Rājagṛha, probably on account of its importance in the Buddhist world and the largest monastery of Navasanghārāma was situated outside the city in the south-west. Balkh was a trade-centre of much importance, linking up India with Central Asia and China. The routes from Taxila ran along the valley of the Kabul river, passed by Hidda and Nagarahāra (Jelalabad) and reached Bāmiyān, a valley surrounded by snowy cliffs of the Hindukush. Then, crossing the Hindukush, this route reached Balkh where converged almost all the great trade-routes of Central Asia.<sup>43</sup> Two great highways of Central Asia to China met at a junction of Balkh. The Northern route passed through ancient Sogdiana,<sup>44</sup> crossed the Jaxartes, passed by Tashkent, went westwards through the passes of the Tianshan and at last reached Uch-Turfan. The other, shorter route, passed through the country of the Tokharians, near Badakshan, and over the different passes of the Pamirs, reached the plain at Kashgar. Another shorter route joined Kashgar with the upper valley of the Indus.<sup>45</sup> The Southern route ascended the valley of the Oxus through Badakshan, the central one running straight to Kashgar by the high valleys of the Jaxartes, and the



northern one going down a part of the middle valley of the Jaxartes and turning next to the east towards Chinese Tartary<sup>46</sup>. Although no substantial relics of the Kushāṇas have so far been discovered at Balkh proper<sup>47</sup>, other evidences leave little doubt that it was a great city of political, cultural and commercial importance in the Kushāṇa times.

Termez was another Buddhist town in Kushāṇa Bactria. Two large monasteries were found in the vicinity of the town, on the mound Kara-Tepe' and near Chinghiz-Tepe'<sup>48</sup>. The excavations at Kara-tepe revealed the remnants of wall-paintings, fragments of a large scale gypsum sculpture and stone reliefs, stone elements of architectural decor, stone and ceramic articles, clay earthen ware, terracotta, bronze coins of the Kushāṇa kings, Indian and Bactrian donated inscriptions on ceramics and visitors' (in the Bactrian, Indian and Middle Persian languages) inscriptions on the walls of one of the Cave temples<sup>49</sup>. The famous sculptured stone-relief from Airtam<sup>50</sup>, situated to the east of Termez, may be compared to the analogous monuments of Gandhāra art. The frieze shows half-figures of youngmen and girls, musicians and bearers of garlands, between acanthus leaves. The report on the excavations in Airtam-Termez site shows that 'at the depth of 8 feet 4 inches one finds a stratum with the coins of Vasudeva I'<sup>51</sup>. The excavations at the town-sites of Kalai-Mir and Key-Kobad Shah (Kobadian) in the lower reaches of the Kafirnighar river also show an ascendancy of the Kushāṇa power. According to Dyakonov<sup>52</sup> the ceramics of Kobadian IV are comparable with those of the last period of Begram I (characterised by the coins of pre-Kushāṇa and early Kushāṇa periods) and those of Begram II (characterised by the coins of Kanishka and his successors). This archaeological stratum has been called Kushāṇa.

Baghlan was another city situated in the vicinity of the Kushāṇa dynastic shrine at Surkh-kotal. Archaeolo-



gical excavations at the site yielded 16 Kushāṇa coins including 2 of Huvishka. The latest Kushāṇa coins found at the site are those of Huvishka. Kushāṇa-Sassanian coin has also been found. However, the importance of the numismatic evidence from Surkh-kotal has grown with the discovery of the famous inscription which refers to the building and repair of a temple called Kaneshko Oanindo Bagolaggo ( that is, the Kanishka victorious — Sanctuary ), the year 31 and a certain Nokonzoko who was probably responsible for the restoration of the temple<sup>53</sup>.

Kunduz was probably one of the important towns in Tokharistan, being situated in North Afghanistan ( Bactria ). The discovery of a hoard of tetradrachms of Attic weight conforming to the Bactrian style made near about Kunduz has led to an assumption that an enclave survived under Greek rule for many years after the capture of Bactra and the western steppe by the Scythians. Bivar is of opinion that the hoard probably comprised the treasure ( coins of Lysius, Theophilus, Antialcidas, Archebius, Philoxenus, Hermaeus and Plato ) of some Greek official or notable fleeing in the face of the final nomadic invasion which brought about the fall of the Greek enclave at 'Qunduz'<sup>54</sup>. One of the coins of Plato the sun-god ( Mithra ) is shown as riding a quadriga and on another coin the god is found standing to front holding the sceptre. The latter representation of Mithra is found extensively on the Kushāṇa coinage of the time of Kanishka and Huvishka. Alberuni considered Kunduz to be the capital of Tokharistan<sup>55</sup>. Remains of Graeco-Buddhist art and antiques bearing direct Indian influence of the 4th-5th centuries have been found in the neighbourhood of Kunduz.

The town-sites of Andarab, Bolor and Badakshan have been traced. Andarab, situated at the southern limit of Bactria, shows the site of unexcavated Buddhist ruins. At Bolor Kanishka's final invasion of the north or east was said to have foundered in the high passes. Badakshan,



lying in the fertile uplands region in the great bend of the upper Oxus, has yielded large number of Later Kushāṇa coins<sup>56</sup>.

### *Sogdiana*

Sogdiana was situated to the north of Tokharistan and lying between the Oxus and the Jaxartes rivers, its chief cities being Samarkand and Bukhara. The ancient name of Sogdiana in Chinese was K'ang-Ku. Chang Kien's report tells us that the small country was inhabited by 80,000-90,000 archers, the southern part being under the political influence of the Yue-chi and the northern part under that of the Hiung-nu<sup>57</sup>. In the annals of the Later Han Dynasty the K'ang Ku's appear with a great accession of strength<sup>58</sup>. The Yue-chi had lived in Sogdiana, before occupying Tokharistan proper, and had close links with the people of the region. The Later Han Annals<sup>59</sup> shows that in A.D. 84 the Yue-chi had established bonds of royal marriage with K'ang Ku, and Pan-Chao, the Chinese general, sent an emissary with gifts to the Yue-chi King that he might influence the King of Sogdiana. The evidence indicates an independent status of the K'ang Kus. According to the annals of the Wei dynasty<sup>60</sup> about A.D. 239 Sogdiana was an independent State. However, great quantities Kushāṇa coins have been discovered in different part of the country like Samarkand, Talibarzu and Bokhara.

One of the most remarkable monuments of Sogdiana in which the cultural remains of many periods have piled up is the enormous hill-fort of ancient Samarland, now called Afrasiab<sup>61</sup>. Excavations yielded interesting collections of pottery, terracotta statuettes (especially widespread was the representation of goddess Anahita) and other objects. Early Sogdian coins imitating the Euthydemus coinage bear legends in the Aramaic script. The inscriptions found in the Zerafshan valley and dating in the



period ranging from the 5th to the 8th centuries A.D. indicate the prevalence of the Aramaic script<sup>62</sup>.

A very interesting monument of Sogdiana is the fortified town of Talibarzu, south of Samarkand. Excavations have established the presence of six cultural layer which serve as a guide to its past. Grigoriev dated the successive strata in the period ranging from the 4th-5th centuries B.C. to the 7th-8th centuries A.D. But the groundlessness of Grigoriev's chronology has been shown by Terenozhkin's classification. The six strata of Talibarzu may be referred to the period from the first century A.D. to the 7th-8th centuries A.D. The complexes of Talibarzu I, II and III (partially) belong to the Kushāṇa period<sup>63</sup>.

Near the Oasis of Bokhara is found the largest site of Varaksh, the capital-town of pre-Islamic times. The oldest parts of the palace in the citadel belong to the sixth century A.D.<sup>64</sup> The Kurgan burial sites of the Kushāṇa epoch in the Bukhara Oasis have been examined by scholars like O. V. Obelchenko<sup>65</sup>. The objects found in the tombs consist mainly of weapons (iron, bone and bronze), ceramics and ornaments. The large burials of the Kushāṇa epoch are divided into two major groups: those of the period ranging from the end of the second century B.C. to the first century A.D., and those belonging to the period from the second to the 4th century A.D.

#### *Khwarejm*

Khwarejm (Chorasmia) lies in the basin of the lower Oxus river. Kushāṇa coins were found in this province in a definite layer only in two sites: the estate near the fortress of Ayaz-Kala and the Toprak-Kala castle. About 60 coins were collected in the territory of Khwarejm, including six of Vima Kadphises, eight of Kanishka, nine of Huvishka and eighteen of Vāsudeva. Twenty-two Kushāṇa coins were found at the site of Toprak-Kala and



its environs. Of these, four coins are of Kadphises II, three of Kanishka, three of Huvishka, and six of Vāsudeva. The numismatic materials have led S. P. Tolstov to hold the opinion that Khwarezm formed a part of the great Central Asian—Indian Empire, one of the four great slave-owning empires (Rome, Parthia, the Kushāna Empire and the Han Empire of China).<sup>66</sup> The excavations at Toprak-Kala yielded, besides coins, many documents in Khorezmian script, written on leather and wood. The dates found in the Toprak-Kala documents are related by Tolstov to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. which, most probably, marked the year of Kanishka's accession.

### *Chach (Tashkent)*

The reign of Chach in the period ranging between the early centuries before Christ and the first century A.D. was the seat of the so-called Kaunchi and Djun cultures.<sup>67</sup> Terenozhkin has established the chronology of the archaeological complexes of Chach. It has been decided that the layers containing Kaunchi II and Djun cultures belong to the Kushānas.

### *Ferghana*

Chang Kien<sup>68</sup>, in 128 B.C., found Ferghana (Chinese Ta-Yuan) a settled agricultural land like Bactria with 'walled towns' and 'postal Roads', where the people made wine from grapes and stored it for years, and from which the vine and the alfalfa were subsequently brought to China. The political position of Ta-yuan is not clear from the account given by Ssu-ma-Chien in his "Shi-Ki". The Tsien-Han-shu reproduces the same account but makes it clear that there was a nomad people superimposed upon and ruling the agricultural population. In 106-101 B.C. the King of Ta-yuan bore the Śaka name Mu-Ku'a.<sup>69</sup> The



fact that the capital of Ta-Yuan was called Gui-shan referred to in the Tsien-Han-shu and the medieval tradition ascribing a Yue-chi origin to the Ferghana ruler, cannot be considered sufficiently convincing testimony to the links between Ferghana and the Kushāṇa kingdom. Studies were made of settlements and burial sites on the Ferghana territory. The Ferghana culture seems to be distinct from the Kushāṇa culture known to us from monuments. Archaeological evidences do not warrant the conclusion that Ferghana was a part of the Kushāṇa kingdom.<sup>70</sup> The links of Ferghana's culture with her Western neighbours, if there be any, speak of close contacts. The potteries from Ferghana are richly decorated with distinctive engraved ornaments.

### *Ustrushana*

The only monument relating to the Kushāṇas that has been investigated is the burial ground Shirin-sai of the town-site Munchaq-Tepe on the southern bank of Jaxartes river, near Bhagovat. The finding in Munchak-Tepe of bronze mirrors, pebbles with Chinese inscriptions and Chinese coins show an Eastern influence. The find of Roman denarii of the first-second centuries A.D. testifies to trade links with the Western world.

The burial rite as well as the style of pottery found in the Munchaq-Tepe site are reminiscent of those in Chach and Ferghana.

B. Stavisky is in favour of the opinion that the Kushāṇa Central Asia included Northern Bactria, Sogdiana, Kharejm, Chach, Urushana and Ferghana. The archaeological materials discovered so far in those parts of Central Asia have been compared with those found in Begram and in Gandhāra. Besides, it has been indicated that the cultural and commercial developments in the provinces like Chach, Ferghana and Urushana would not have been possible, in



the face of nomadic invasions, if those were not incorporated in the Kushāṇa state.<sup>71</sup> But the epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological evidences, yielded by Gandhāra or Mathurā, of prolonged Kushāṇa occupation, may be compared, both qualitatively and quantitatively, with those found in Central Asia and found more convincing.<sup>72</sup> It is to be noted in this regard that Bactria, standing at the junction of the four worlds — Iranian, Indian, Turanian and Sino-Mongolian —, served as the centre of Kushāṇa polity. The Kushāṇas were, thus, in a more advantageous position than others to exert their influence upon the neighbouring states in the surrounding regions. Moreover, it is to be considered that Balkh stood at a junction of trade-routes connecting India with Central Asia and China. The Buddhist monks obviously followed the routes shown by the caravan leaders (Sārthavāhas), when they had gone on their mission of preaching the teachings of Lord Buddha. Both, commercially and culturally, the neighbouring states had to look forward to Bactria and became dependent, to a great extent, upon the policy of the Kushāṇa government.

### *Khorāsān*

The region from the great eastern desert of Iran to highlands, east of Herat, had its centres at Nishāpur, Ariana (Herat) and Margiana (Merw). It has been suggested by Ghirshman<sup>73</sup> that Margiana fell to Kujula Kadphises, and Ariana to his successor, and that they long remained under Kushāṇa control. The evidences in support of this view are deduced from Paulus Orosius (A.D. 415) and Stephanus Byzantines (early 6th century A.D.). But it is doubtful whether the association of the Kushāṇas with Merw can be established only on the basis of those indirect sources.



*Tarim Valley*

The valley of the Tarim river is known as Eastern Turkestan lying between the Tien-shan and Kun-lun mountains. The rivers of China owe their origin to the eastern ranges of the Kun-lun; the Kashgar Darya rises from the Tien-shan and the Yarkand Darya from the Pamirs. Many colonies grew up in these river valleys. People of Kashmir and North-west India planted colonies in Khotan and Kashgar in the early centuries of the Christian era. The main overland trade-route between India and China passed through this part of Central Asia, known better as 'Ser-India'. More than half of its area is impassable desert, but along the northern and southern edges of the desert was a series of flourishing oasis city-states. There were four states in the northern part of the Tarim basin which were culturally united: Bharuka, Kuchi, Karasahr and Turfan. The southern states grouped according to the zones of cultural influences are: Kashgar and the neighbouring states, Khotan and the neighbouring states, and the region of Lobnor.

The relationship of the Kushāṇas with the Tarim basin is determined mainly on the basis of the Chinese and Tibetan sources. The Annals of the Early Han Dynasty (Chapter 94a) tells us that a group of the main body of the Yue-chi, after their westward migration from North-western border of China under the pressure of the Hiung-nu, settled at the south-east end of the Tarim basin and became known as the Little Yue-chi. The Annals of the Wei dynasty testifies to the presence of the Yue-chi tribes south of the Tun-huang mountains even in the third century A.D. Sten Konow<sup>74</sup> put forward a theory on the basis of a Tibetan source that Kanishka had belonged to the Little Yue-chi tribe and rose to power in Khotan. However, there might be objections to this view on more solid grounds.

The Annals of the Later Han Dynasty (Chapter 77) informs us that General Pan Chao's victorious campaigns,



pursued for thirty years (73-102 A.D.) carried the Chinese arms beyond the regions explored by Chang Kien as far as the confines of the Graeco-Roman world. The king of Khotan submitted in A.D. 73, followed by several other princes. Kashgar, immediately after, returned to obedience. The southern edge of the Tarim basin was opened to the arms and commerce of China. The northern edge was also thrown open with the reduction of Kuchi and Karashahr. The Yue-chi had not renounced their previous supremacy without a struggle. In the year 90 the Yue-chi king demanded the hand of the Chinese princess which was refused by the General and the envoy sent was arrested. The Yui-chi king despatched a formidable force of 70,000 cavalry under the command of his viceroy Sie, across the Tsung-ling range (Taghdumbash Pamir) to attack the Chinese. The Yue-chi army shattered by its sufferings during the passage of the mountains lost to the Chinese forces under Pan-chao and the king of the Yue-chi (that is, the Kushāṇa king) was compelled to pay tribute imposed upon him.

In the above report of the Han annals significant is the statement that the Yue-chi had not renounced their previous supremacy without a struggle. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang gives the following account: When king Kanishka ruled in Gandhāra, his power reached the neighbouring states and his influence extended to distant regions. He established military rule over a wide territory reaching to the east of the Tsung-ling, and a tributary state of China to the west of the Yellow river through fear of the King's power sent him prince as hostage. Kanishka's military rule over the western part of the Tarim basin at least for a temporary period, is vouchsafed for by the Chinese evidences. The Tibetan Annals<sup>75</sup> tells us that Vijayakīrti, King of Khotan, allied himself with King Kanika of Guzan (Kanishka of Kushāṇa) and helped him in his conquest of Eastern India as far as Soked (Sāketa).



NORTH WESTERN FRONTIER PROVINCES  
OF INDIA*Kāpiśa*

Kāpiśa is situated at the junction of the Panjtir and Ghorband rivers near the village Begram, 25 miles north-east of Kabul. Hiuen Tsang called it the royal city of Kanishka, King of Gandhāra. Kāpiśa is the place where the Chinese hostages were installed by Kanishka during the summer season. At Begram was discovered a great board of luxury objects<sup>76</sup> — plaster models for silver plaques from the Graeco-Roman West, Hellenistic bronze figurines, Syrian glass, Chinese lacquer ware, Indian ivory carvings etc. — testifying to the cosmopolitanism and wealth of the Kushāṇa rulers. About one thousand six hundred and forty-seven coins of both the Kadphises and Kanishka group of kings have been discovered<sup>77</sup>.

Ghirshman's excavations<sup>78</sup> at Begram have revealed three phases of occupation at the site. Begram I is marked by the coins of the Pahlava kings as well as those of "the first and second Kushāṇa dynasties". Begram II belonged to the second Kushāṇa dynasty under Kanishka, the last remnant of Kushāṇa rule being a piece of Vāsudeva. According to Ghirshman, the city was invaded and ruined by the Sassanid ruler Shāpur I about 244 A.D. Begram III contains no coins attributable to a date later than the fourth Kushāṇa dynasty, that is the Kidāra-Kushāṇas, which probably implies the abandonment of the town during the invasion of the Chionites.

*Kabul*

The Hou-Han-shu ( Ch. 119 ) tells us about the Yue-chi conquest of Kao-fu or Kabul. The Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises type of coins suggest the association of the first Kushāṇa monarch with Kabul, the last stronghold of the



Greeks, first overthrown by the Parthians and next annexed by the Kushāṇas. The Annals of the Wei dynasty included Kao-fu or Kabul in the realm of the Yue-chi even in A.D. 239. According to Alberuni,<sup>79</sup> King Kanishka belonged to the line of Hindu Shāhis of Kabul. Kushāṇa coins, chiefly those of Wema Kadphises, have been found as stūpa deposits in the small monuments around the city<sup>80</sup>. Thirty miles west of Kabul, at Wardak, are found a number of Buddhist stūpas, one of them containing a reliquary inscribed in Kharoshthī, dated in the year 51 of the Kushāṇa emperor Huvishka.

### *Jelalabad*

The Jelalabad district (ancient Nagarahāra) contains the remains of three major Buddhist sanctuary complexes, including the Hadda and the Bimāran stūpas<sup>81</sup>. At Hadda has been discovered a Kharoshthī inscription<sup>82</sup> on a jar in a stūpa. The inscription is dated in the year 28 and records the dedication of a Bodhisattva relic, most of the merit going to an unnamed king.

In the Ahin Posh Stūpa<sup>83</sup> were found the Roman aurei of Domitian, Trajan and Sabina (wife of Hadrian), seventeen Kushāṇa dināras, ten of Wema Kadphises, six of Kanishka and one of Huvishka.

### *Peshawar*

According to Hiuen Tsang, Purushapura (or Peshawar) was the capital of the vast Kushāṇa Empire spreading from the valley of the Oxus to that of the Ganges. The Chinese pilgrim refers to the construction of a grand stūpa, containing some relics of Buddha, at Purushapura. Two large mounds, found near the Peshawar city and known as 'Shāh-ji-ki-dheri', have been identified with Kanishka' stūpa. The Kharoshthī inscription on a reliquary unearthed



in the mound records religious gift "in Kanishka's Vihāra, in Mahāsena's Saṃghārāma, in the reign of the great king Kanishka". Sten Konow thinks that the Peshawar Casket inscription is dated Kanishka's year 1<sup>84</sup>. But the reading is doubtful.

About one thousand coins of Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva have been discovered in Peshawar<sup>85</sup>. Excavations at Sahri Bahlol<sup>86</sup>, Peshawar district, have brought out one silver Sassanian coin, one copper coin of Soter Megas and one unique silver coin of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas has been discovered at Mardam Tahsil in Peshawar District<sup>87</sup>. The Kurram Copper Casket inscription dated in Kanishka's year 21 has been found near Peshawar.

## INDIA PROPER

### *W. Punjab*

There is a copious evidence of the presence of the Kushāṇas in different parts of the Western Punjab. The Zeda inscription of Kanishka dated in the year 11 is found near Und, the Mānikiwālā stone inscription of Kanishka's year 18 is found near Rawalpindi and the Ārā stone inscription of Kanishka dated in the year 41 is found near Attock. The Sui Vihār Copper plate inscription of Kanishka dated in the year 11 has been discovered sixteen miles south-west of Bhawalpur, indicating the extension of the Kushāṇa authority south of the Punjab.

### *Taxila*

Excavations at Taxila<sup>88</sup> have revealed three phases of occupation of the site : the Bhir Mound, the oldest urban settlement ; Sirkap, the Graeco-Parthian city ; and Sirsukh, the remains of a Kushāṇa citadel. There is a series of



sanctuaries east of Sirsukh, namely, Dharmarājikā stūpa, Kalāwan, Fire temple at Jaṇḍiāl etc. These later sites include the stūpas and vihāras at Mohra Moradu, Jaulian Giri and Bhamāla, Pippala, Lalchak and Badalpur. Thousands of Kushāṇa coins have been discovered at different sites of Taxila. Two thousand five hundred and twenty-two copper coins of Kadphises I have been found at Sirkap. Four silver coins of Kadphises II are from Sirkap. Among sixty-four copper coins of Kadphises II, thirty-seven are from Sirkap and twenty-seven from other sites. About one hundred and one specimens of Soter Megas have been discovered, only twelve coming from Sirkap and the others from different sites. Among one hundred and fifty seven copper coins of Kanishka, thirty-nine are from Sirkap and the others are distributed over Dharmarājikā, Jaṇḍiāl, Kalāwan, Mohra Moradu, Sirsukh, Chir Tope, Jaulian, Pippala and Giri. Over these sites are found seventy-three copper coins of Huvishka and one thousand nine hundred and four copper coins of Vāsudeva.

The Taxila silver scroll Inscription of a Kushāṇa King ( maharaja raratiraja devaputra Khhushaṇa ) dated in 136 probably indicates the consolidation of the Kushāṇa authority in the region by 78 A.D.

### *Kāshmīr*

The Annals of the Later Han Dynasty informs us that Kujula Kadphises conquered Ki-pin, that is, Kāshmīr. The mention of Vima Kadphises in the Khalatse inscription<sup>89</sup> of the year 187, found in eastern Kāshmīr is not beyond doubt. According to Hiuen Tsang, the Fourth Buddhist Council was held under the patronage of Kanishka at Kundalavana vihāra in Kāshmīr. Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅginī refers to three Turushka kings, Hushka ( Huvishka ), Jushka ( Vāsishka ) and Kanishka ( Kanishka II ), each of whom founded a new city bearing his own name. These



cities are Hushkapura, Ushkur inside the Baramula Pass, Jushkapura, Zukur north of Śrī Nagar, and Kanishkapura, Kanisapur between Baramula and Śrīnagar. The Annals of the Wei Dynasty shows Ki-pin (Kashmir) within the realm of the Yue-chi in A.D. 239. The oldest remains of Buddhist art and architecture seem to be a stūpa and a monastery at Harwan, two miles from the Shalimar Gardens in the Valley of Kāshmir.<sup>90</sup>

### *Mathurā*

The city of Mathurā has provided the most concrete evidence of prolonged Kushāṇa occupation. The majority of inscriptions<sup>91</sup> discovered in and around Mathurā, more than one hundred and fifty in number, are Jain in character, being recorded on the statues of the Tirthaṅkaras or on tablets of homage, the Āyāgapaṭas. The inscriptions cite Kushāṇa rulers, officials and dates, from the time of Wema Kadphises to that of Vāsudeva I. Besides coins<sup>92</sup> of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, Mathurā has yielded a great number of Kushāṇa donor effigies and terracotta figurines.<sup>93</sup> It is very likely that it was the headquarters of the Kushanshahr in the East. Vast collections of antiquities now stored in the local museum of archaeology, and at Lucknow, speak of the artistic traditions of Mathurā which flourished under the liberal patronage of the Kushāṇa rulers.

### *Hastināpura*

Excavations carried on in 1950-51 and finally closing in March 1952 have brought to light five distinct periods of occupation. The fourth period of occupation is characterised by the coins of the Mathurā rulers assignable to the second century B.C., the Yaudheya coins round about Christian era, and ten coins imitating those of the Kushāṇa



king Vāsudeva. Among the ten Kushāṇa imitation coins, six are of "King at altar and Śiva with bull" type and four are of "King standing and enthroned goddess" type<sup>94</sup>.

### *Ahichhatra*

Extensive excavations at Ahichhatra, carried on during 1940-44, revealed nine strata. Numerous Pañcāla coins were recovered from Period IV and V. The Kushāṇa occupation of the site is revealed by their coins found in Period VI ranging from C. 100 to 350 A.D. The Pañcāla coins bearing the names of rulers belonging to the 'Mitra' dynasty cover a period of from about 200 B.C. to the end of the first century B.C.<sup>95</sup>. The discontinuance of the Pañcāla coins probably indicates the passing away of Ahichhatra and its surrounding regions into the hand of the Kushāṇas.

### *Śrāvastī*

An inscription of the Kushāṇa period records the setting up of a Bodhisattva with an umbrella and shaft at Śrāvastī in the Kosambakuṭī by Monk Bala on the 19th day in the month and year (mutilated) of Mahārāja Devaputra Kanishka. Most of the coins,<sup>96</sup> discovered by excavations at Sāhet-Māhet, belong to Vāsudeva, one being that of Kanishka, two of Huvishka and one of Āyumitra of Ayodhyā.

### *Kosāmbī*

The Kosāmbī inscription dated in the second year of Mahārāja Kanishka records the erection of a Bodhisattva statue by the nun Buddhāmitra. Another Kosāmbī inscription<sup>97</sup>, mentioning the name of Kanishka, records the setting up of a Bodhisattva image by Buddhāmitra. The record is undated. An inscription<sup>98</sup>, recovered from the



Ghositārāma monastery, records similar act of piety by Buddhāmitra, that is, the setting up of the Bodhisattva statue in the year 6. The record is without the name of Kanishka. Another valuable Kushāṇa find from Kauśāmbī is a sealing<sup>99</sup> bearing the legend: "Mahārājasya rājātirājasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya prayoga". The excavations at Kauśāmbī have brought up a large number of Kushāṇa pieces, all copper, struck in the name of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva<sup>100</sup>. The cumulative data leave little scope for doubting the presence of the Kushāṇa rule in this region. Excavation at Bhitā (near Allahabad)<sup>101</sup> yielded three copper coins of Kadphises II, one clay mould, six copper coins of Kanishka and eighteen copper coins of Huvishka.

### *Sārṇāth*

The three inscriptions inscribed on the front, back and a little above the Bodhisattva statue, record the dedication of this statue, and an umbrella with a post by Friar Bala along with Mahākshatrāpa Kharapallāna and Kshatrāpa Vanaspara at Benares, where the Lord used to walk, on the 22nd day, the third month of Hemanta season, in the year 3 of Mahārāja Kanishka. One hundred copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka found in a place in Azamgarh district, a hoard discovered at Azamgarh containing coins of Kanishka and Huvishka and similar coins found in a village Nai in the Azamgarh district indicate the inclusion of the Eastern U.P. region in the Kushāṇa dominions<sup>102</sup>.

### *Pāṭaliputra*

Both Chinese and Tibetan sources tell of Kanishka's capturing Pāṭaliputra and Ayodhyā (Sāketa)<sup>103</sup>. Probably the local dynasty that submitted to the Kushāṇa was known as Muraṇḍa. In the Zeda inscription of the year 11



Kanishka is given the epithet "Muroḍa"<sup>104</sup> which may have connection with the Śaka word "murunḍa" meaning 'lord'. The epithet might have been acquired by Kanishka's own powers shown by his victory over the Murunḍas ruling in the Gangetic Valley. Ptolemy ( *Geography*, vii, 2.14 ) shows that in A.D. 140 the Murunḍas had come to power on the right bank of the Ganges. According to the Jain traditions, Pāṭaliputra was under the rule of the Murunḍa kings. The Jain version of the *Simhāsana* — *dvātrimśikā*<sup>105</sup> tells us that the city of Kānyakubja ( Kanauj ) was under the sway of Murunḍarāja, who may have been a viceroy of the Murunḍa king of Magadha. The *Pādalipta-Pravandha* ( v. 44, 59, 61 ) of the *Prabhāvakacarita* informs us how Pādalipta cured king Murunḍa of Pāṭaliputra of his terrible headache. In the *Āvaśyaka-Brihadvritti* it is mentioned that a Murunḍa king of Pāṭaliputra sent his envoy to the king of Purushapura or Peshawar. Merutuṅga's *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* ( 188, p. 27 ) also tells us that the Murunḍarāja had his capital at Pāṭaliputra. In the accounts furnished by the *Purāṇas*<sup>106</sup> there are indications that some rulers of the Murunḍa stock ruled just before the rise of the Guptas. Sylvan Levi<sup>107</sup> has pointed out on the strength of the Chinese evidences that the Murunḍas ruled in Pāṭaliputra in the centuries just preceding the rise of the Guptas. While the identity of the Murunḍas with the Yue-chi<sup>108</sup> is still a knotty problem, some sort of political relationship may have reasonably existed between the Kushāṇas and the Murunḍas in the early centuries of the Christian era.

### *Śiśupālgarh*

The excavations<sup>109</sup> have revealed that Śiśupālgarh was occupied from the beginning of the third century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century A.D. The presence of the Kushāṇas is indicated by the discovery of six copper



coins of Kanishka, one copper coin of Huvishka, Puri-Kushāṇa coins and one unique gold Romano-Muruṇḍa coin of the 3rd century A.D. It is significant to note that some potteries found at Śiśupālgarh bear resemblances to those found at Arikamedu. The Puri-Kushāṇa coins or the local Orissan coins, were minted in copper in imitation of the Kushāṇa types. Probably these served as crude representative of the regular currency of the Kushāṇas. The tendency of the local rulers to imitate the Kushāṇa coinage might have been caused by significant political factors.

### *Sāñchī*

A Sāñchī inscription records the setting up of the image of Śākyamuṇi by Vidyā on the tenth day in the second month of the rainy season, year 22 of Rājan Vāskushāṇa. Another Sāñchī inscription records installation of the image of Bodhisattva by Madhurikā, daughter of Vīra, on the fifth day, the first month of summer, year 28 of Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāshishka. These two records have been taken as proofs of the extension of the Kushāṇa authority in the Mālwa region. The paucity of the Kushāṇa records, viewed in the background of rival claims of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas over Mālwa, no doubt implies an extension of the Kushāṇa authority over the region for a very short period.

The cities, towns and marts situated in the Kushāṇa realm were well-connected by a net-work of routes, both by land and water. These routes mostly served the purpose of the merchants who were interested in transshipment of commodities from one place to the other. The means of communications were readily available to the foreign rulers, as those had already been built up under the rule of the Mauryas. Strabo (XV. 1. 11-12) refers to the Royal Road across North India along the Ganges. The Royal Road began with Pushkalāvati, reached by the Kabul



Valley and went across the Indus through Taxila, across the Jhelum, the Beas, the Sutlej and the Yamunā and through Hastināpura to the Ganges and continued through Kanauj, Prayāga to Pāṭaliputra<sup>110</sup>. From Pāṭaliputra, the Imperial city, the Royal road continued its course to the mouth of the Ganges. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (48) describes two trade-routes from the north-west frontier: One led down the Indus to Minnagara (Patala in Sindh), capital of Indo-Scythia and its port of Barbaricum and another joined the Caspapyrene (Kāshmir), Paropanīsene (sub-Hindukush) and Cabolitic (Kabul) countries by way of Poclais (Pushkalāvati) to the famous trade-emporium of Barygaza. Roads from Patala in Sindh and from Barygaza met at Ozene (Ujjain) and joined the Royal Road at Modura (Mathurā), by which were brought down many things for Western trade. The road from Poclais (Pushkalāvati) proceeded through the Pamirs to Bactria. This route linking India with Central Asia by way of Taxila is often referred to in the Jātakas (ii. 277).

It is difficult to determine the frontiers of the Kushāṇa territories, comprising mainly Ta-hia, Kao-fo, Ki-pin and Tien-tchou. Central Asian territories under the Kushāṇa rule once expanded upto the western part of the Tarim basin but for a temporary period. The Kushāṇa dominance in India expanded upto at least the Eastern U.P. region in the East and Mālwa region in the south. But the frontiers of the Kushāṇa empire, in no time, shifted back to Mathurā which marked the eastern as well as the southern boundary at least upto the third century A.D. The rise of the indigenous states, both monarchical and republican, to an independent states gradually pressed the Kushāṇas in India more and more towards the North Western Frontier. The loss of Ta-hia, the original kingdom of the Kushāṇas, ultimately brought about their final extinction.



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### Chapter III

#### SOVEREIGNTY

Absolute monarchy was established in the Kushāṇa state, and as such, sovereignty or supreme power might be taken to have belonged to the King or the Emperor, vested in his person. The position of the Kushāṇa King is known to us from the nature of character of titles held by him. In the inscriptions the King is variously represented as mahārāja (Panjtir stone inscription, yr. 122), mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra (Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription, year 136), mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kushāṇaputra (Mathurā Colossal seated image inscription), mahārāja (Kosām Bodhisattva inscription of the year 2; Sārnāth Bodhisattva Inscription of the year 3), mahārāja devaputra (British Museum Stone Inscription of the year 10), mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra (Sui Vihār Copper-plate inscription of the year 11), mahārāja (Mānikiwālā stone inscription of the year 18), mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra (Set-Māhet inscriptions), mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Shāhi (Sāñchī Buddhist Image Inscription of the year 28), devaputra Shāhi (Mathurā stone Inscription of the year 28), mahārāja devaputra (Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of the year 33), mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kaisara (Ara stone Inscription of the year 41), mahārāja (Mathurā Jain Image Inscription of the year 44; Lucknow Museum Jain Image Inscription of the year 48), mahārāja devaputra (Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of the year 51), mahārāja rājātirāja (Wardak bronze vase Inscription of the year 51), mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra (Mathurā Image Inscription of the year 60), mahārāja devaputra (Mathurā Buddha Image Inscription of the year 67), mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra (Mathurā stone slab inscription of the year 74), mahārāja (Mathura Jain Image Inscription of the year 80), mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Shāhi (Mathurā



Jain image inscription of the year 84), mahārāja rājātirāja Shāhi (Mathurā Jain Image Inscription of the year 87), rājā (Mathurā Jain image inscription of the year 98)<sup>1</sup>. Legends on the Kushāṇa coinage<sup>2</sup> represent Kujula Kadphises as Kushāṇa Yavuga, mahārāja, rājātirāja, mahān, dharmasthita and satyadharmasthita. Wema Kadphises is found to have held the titles Basileos Basileon Soter Megas, mahārāja rājātirāja sarva-loga-īśvara, Maheśvara, trātā. On Kanishka's coin we find the titles Basileos Basileon and Shāonāno Shāo. The title Shāonāno Shāo was continued by Huvishka, Vāsudeva and his successors, commonly known as Later Kushāṇas, and even on the Kushāṇa-Sassanian coinage. The title 'Shāhi' alone is found along with the names of Kidāra and his son Piro on their coins.

### *Mahārāja*

A supreme ruler like Aśoka, the great Maurya Emperor, was content with the titles "Rājā" and "Devānāmpiya Piyadasi". But the great rulers of the Scythian age were not satisfied with those modest epithets. The title "mahārāja" was commonly used by them. The Indo-Greek king Menander is represented as "mahārāja" in the Shinkot Steatite Gasket Inscription<sup>3</sup>. The title "mahārāja" is found to have been widely used by the Greek Kings of Bactria and India on the coins<sup>4</sup>. The Śaka King Maues is represented as "Mahārāja" and "Mahat" in the Taxila Copper plate Inscription of Paṭika dated in the year 78<sup>5</sup>. Again, in the Takht-i-Bāhī Stone Inscription<sup>6</sup> of the year 103 we find along with the name of the Pahlava King Gondopharnes the title "mahārāja". On the coins<sup>7</sup> of the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians very often we find the title "mahārāja" used by the rulers like Azes, Azilises, Gondopharnes, Abdagases and Pakores. The same royal title is found on the early Kushāṇa coinage and in almost all



the available epigraphic records of the Kushāṇa period. It seems that the Kushāṇas adopted the title "mahārāja" in imitation of their Greek and Scytho-Parthian predecessors who might have attempted to introduce themselves as Indian Kings. Prof. R. S. Sharma<sup>8</sup> is of opinion that the earliest epigraphic mention of the title is to be found in the first century B.C. Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, where his ancestor Mahāmeghavāhana is described as "mahārāja". But Menander's representation as "mahārāja" in the Shinkot Steatite Inscription is probably earlier. Besides, East Indian tradition of Kingship was not likely to exert influence upon the North-Western rulers. The epigraphic and numismatic evidences suggest that the title "mahārāja" was known in North-West India even in early second century B.C.

However, there is least doubt that "mahārāja", like "rājan" was an Indian title. The different kinds of rulership prevalent in India are known to us from a passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 15): "If he who knows thus should desire of a Kshatriya, 'May he win all victories, find all the worlds, attain the superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all kings and overlordship (Sāmrajyam), paramount rule (Bhaujyam), self-rule (Svārajyam), sovereignty (Vairajyam), supreme authority (Pārameshthyam), Kingship (Rajyam), great Kingship (māhārajyam) and suzerainty (Ādhipatyam), may he be all-encompassing, possessed of all earth (Sārvabhaumam), possessed of all life, from the one end upto the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler (Ekarāt)'; he should anoint him with the great anointing (Mahābhisheka) of Indra, after adjuring him"<sup>9</sup>. In this passage we find the terms ('Rajyam' and 'Mahārajyam'; relevant to our discussion. It seems quite reasonable to assume that the royal titles "Rāja" and "Māhārāja" were derived from the terms "Rajyam" and "Mahārajyam" respectively. The prefix "Mahān" added with the term "Rājan" naturally signified a more exalted position of the ruler holding the



title "mahārāja" instead of "Rājā" only. In the background of political disunity all over Northern India after the downfall of the Maurya Empire the concept of an exalted monarchy was probably evolved to ensure the restoration of an imperial unity. That does not necessarily imply that whoever claim to restore the political unity was successful. The Kushāṇas were probably justified more than others, in the post-Maurya period, to exalt the position of the monarch.

### *Rājātirāja*

The title "rājātirāja" found in the records of the Kushāṇa period also occurs in the Kharoshthī legends of the early Kushāṇa coinage. The title, meaning "King of Kings", is the same as Greek "Basileus Basileon" found on the coinage of Wema Kadphises an Kanishka. The title "Shāonāno Shāo" in Khotani Śaka language found on the coinage of Kanishka and his successors is equivalent to "rājātirāja". It is the same as old Persian 'Kshāyathiyānām Kshāyathiyā', modern Persian "Shāhān Shāh" and Indian "Shāhānushāhi" found in the Allahabad stone pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta<sup>10</sup>. The title "Shāhi" is found on the Kidarite coinage as well as on the Imperial Kushāṇa coinage. The sense implied in the title "rājātirāja" is also carried through the expressions like "Kshatrasya Kshatra" (Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, I. 4. 14), "Adhirāja (Rājñām tvam Adhirāja bhavēha" — Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 7) or "Chakravartin" (Maitrī Upanishad 1, 4), known to ancient Indian literature. The Amarakośa states that a king before whom all feudatories humble themselves is styled 'adhīśvara', 'chakravartin', 'sārvabhauma'<sup>11</sup>. The word 'chakravartin' is derived by Kshīrasvāmin as "one who wields lordship over a circle of kings". These titles indicate a feudatory organization consisting of tributary states or chiefs.

The Kushāṇas probably adopted the title "rājātirāja"



from their Scytho-Parthian predecessors. On the coins<sup>12</sup> of the Parthian King Gondopharnes occurs the legend in Kharoshthī on the reverse where we read among other titles "rājātirāja". The corresponding Greek title on the obverse is "Basileus Basileon". On the coins of the Śaka king Azilises we find the title "rājātirāja" on the reverse<sup>13</sup>. On most of the coins bearing the name of Azes occurs the title "rājātirāja" although "rājātirāja" is on many of them<sup>14</sup>. On the obverse of the coins of Maues we find the legend "Basileus Basileon Megalou Mauou" and on their reverse "Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa".<sup>15</sup> The earliest local Parthian ruler of east Iran, who is known from his coins to have assumed the imperial title "great king of kings" was Vonones. The Parthian ruler Vonones, who had started as viceroy of Drangiana under the Parthian emperors, most probably began to use the title after the declaration of his independence. The earliest Parthian emperor to use the title "King of Kings" was Mithridates II (123-88 B.C.)<sup>16</sup>. Probably, it was an Arsacid adoption of the Achaemenian imperial title "Xāyathiyānām Xāyathiya". Vonones borrowed his title from Mithradates II and adopted after his death<sup>17</sup>. It is more reasonable to assume that Maues, the earliest Śaka King in India, imitated the east Iranian Parthian ruler than others. Maues was followed by his successors in the adoption of the title "rājātirāja". Whatever might have been the original source for borrowing the title, the Kushānas adopted it from their immediate Scytho-Parthian predecessors in India. Although the late Jain legendary text 'Kālakāchārya Kathānaka' refers to the Śaka kings holding the title "Shāhānushāhi"<sup>18</sup>, even as early as the fourth century A.D. the Kushānas appear as "Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi" in the Gupta epigraphic record. In fact, neither epigraphic nor numismatic evidences show that the Śakas ever used the title 'Shāhānushāhi'. It was mainly a Kushāna



title, an Indianised form of the Khotani Śaka adoption of the Scytho-Parthian title "King of Kings" ( *Rājātirāja* ).

Indian tradition of 'Chakravartin' seems to have contributed towards the concept underlying the imperial title "*Rājātirāja*". The ideal of "Chakravartin" was set before all ambitious Indian rulers from ancient times. Kauṭilya (IX.I) defines the land of the Chakravartin ( *Chakravartikshetram* ) as the territory on the earth spreading towards the north from the sea to the Himalayas. In the Nānāghāt Inscription occurs the word "*apratihata cakasa*" ( i.e. *Cakrasya* )<sup>19</sup>. In the Hāthigumpha Inscription of Khāravela also is found the expression "*apatihata-cakabāhinīvalaḥ*"<sup>20</sup>. All these signify the irresistible valour with which the king along with his army became victorious in all directions and satisfied his imperial ambitions with the submission of the defeated kings. The Dīgha-Nikāya ( II, p. 169f. and III, p. 62f. )<sup>21</sup> tells us that the Emperor ( Chakravartin ), having discovered the wonderful wheel and solemnly invoked it to roll onwards, followed it on its onward course successively towards the East, the South, the North and the West. As the mighty monarch appeared in each quarter with his four fold army, the rival kings therein offered their submission. The same idea occurs in the Mahāyāna Buddhist text "*Lalitavistara*" ( Part I, pp. 13-18, ed. Lefmann ). The Kushāṇas appeared in India in the role of conquerors. They did bother little for maintaining their direct control over the conquered regions as it was practically impossible for a ruler stationed in a capital-city in the North-Western border. The tradition of carrying on conquests in four directions is reflected in the "*Legend of Kanishka*" brought to our notice by Sylvan Levi "I have subjugated the three regions; all men have taken refuge with me, the region of the north alone has not come in to make its submission"<sup>22</sup>. It seems that the Kushāṇa imperialists adopted the system of conquest in an Indian traditional way in order to become "*Sārva-*



bhaumah", to be justified in assuming the title "King of Kings".

### *Devaputra*

Aśoka, the Maurya emperor, is known to have held the epithet "Beloved of the gods" (Devānāmpriya), the Indo-Parthian Gondopharnes used the title "Devoted to the gods" (Devavrata) and the Kushāṇa rulers assumed the title "Son of Heaven" (Devaputra). In this connection we may recall that on some coins of the Greek rulers of Bactria and India occur some epithets attributing divinity to the King. Probably, the Indo-Greek rulers adopted such divine epithets in imitation of the example of the Seleucid rulers of Western Asia like Antiochus II (262-246 B.C.) holding the title of "Theos" (god)<sup>23</sup>. Among the Indo-Greek rulers Agathocleia adopted the epithet "Theotropos" (son of god), Antimachus was represented as "Theos" and Euthydemus was posthumously called "Theos"<sup>24</sup>. It is uncertain whether the concept of the divinity of Kingship was borrowed by the Kushāṇas from their Indo-Greek predecessors, or whether the Greek epithet "Theotropos" was later on converted into the title of "Devaputra". Because, the Indo-Greek coinage bearing the legends containing the epithet "Theotropos" or "Theos" are few in number and thus do not show the wide prevalence of an exalted royal position among the Greeks. However, imitation of the examples set by the Greeks, although very few, cannot be altogether ruled out in the case of the Kushāṇas who were in close touch, for a long time, with the heritage of Bactria and North West India. Rather, it is more probable than the view that the Kushāṇa emperors assumed the title "Devaputra" after the Chinese Imperial title "Son of Heaven"<sup>25</sup>.

Cunningham read "Devaputra" along with other imperial titles "mahārāja" and "rājātīrāja" on two specimens



of the "Bull and Bactrian Camel" type bearing the name of Kujula Kara Kadphises<sup>26</sup>. But on re-examination of those specimens Mr. John Allan later on found out error in Cunningham's reading of "Devaputra"<sup>27</sup>. On no other coin, it is undoubted, occurs "Devaputra" which is found among other imperial titles in the inscriptions referring to the Kushāṇa monarchs. It may be argued that "Devaputra" cannot be regarded as an official title, for it does not occur in Kushāṇa coins which contain other official titles such as "mahārāja" and "rājātirāja"<sup>28</sup>. But it is difficult to ignore the evidence of the epigraphic records dated in the years of an era started by Kanishka himself. In the Kushāṇa inscriptions 'devaputra' is mentioned along with "mahārāja" and "rājātirāja", and hence it cannot be treated on a separate footing. Further it may be pointed that the particular title is mentioned not only in documents of private character but also in those records where reference has been specifically made to some activities of state-officials like 'daṇḍanāyaka' and 'Kshatrapa'. Again there can be no doubt about the official character of the Allahabad prasasti of Samudra Gupta composed by his court-poet Harishena who makes a covert allusion to the Kushāṇas by his expression "Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānu-shāhis". The assumption of the title "Devaputra", no doubt, implies the divinity of Kingship emphasised by the semi-divine representation of the Kushāṇa rulers on their coins.

#### *Royal Potraits on Coins : Semi-divine features*

The association of the divine character with the King could not have preceded the period of Wema Kadphises. It was Khadphises II who introduced symbols of divinity<sup>29</sup> in the delineation of the royal portraits. The royal bust rising from the clouds, flames issuing from King's shoulders, King's august head shown in a square frame — all these



divine and honorific traits, found for the first time on Wema Kadphises' coinage<sup>30</sup> rarely occur on the pre-Kushāṇa coinage. 'Nimbus' or 'Halo' round the king's head is introduced, in addition to other signs of divinity already adopted, in the coinage of Kanishka. Like his predecessors, Huvishka also used marks of divinity, representing himself on his coins as either nimbate or radiate, as either emerging from clouds or seated cross-legged on clouds, sometimes with flames rising from his shoulders. Vāsudeva and his successors are found to have continued the use of 'nimbus' only<sup>31</sup>. These signs of divinity, with which the Kushāṇa Kings are found on the obverse of their coins, are normally associated with the figures of the gods and goddesses represented on the reverse of their coins. Drouin has suggested Hellenic feature of the signs of divinity<sup>32</sup>; but their Indian character appears to be no less striking. However, if the signs of deification on the Kushāṇa coinage are to be judged as constituting an iconographical expression of a monarchical principle, there is no reason why 'Devaputra' should not be treated as an official title of the Kushāṇa rulers. As it has been pointed out by F. W. Thomas<sup>33</sup>, the Pāli Jātaka Commentary (III, p. 261) sometimes identifies the term 'deva' (god) and 'Devaputra' (son of god) [deva ca nāma devaputa]. That the Kushāṇas adopted devices deliberately to deify kings is shown by the appearance of the figure of Kanishka between Sun and Moon on the drum of the Peshawar reliquary<sup>34</sup>. The establishment of 'devakulas' was another such device.

#### *Devakula — the cult of King-worship*

The apotheosis of deceased rulers is illustrated by the practice of erecting 'Devakula' or Royal gallery of portrait statues. The Mathurā colossal seated image inscription of the time of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra



Kushāṇa-putra Vema takshama records the construction of a 'Devakula' or temple<sup>35</sup>. Again, the Māt inscription<sup>36</sup> records the repair of a Devakula by a Bakanapati, son of a Mahādandanāyaka for the life and prosperity of, Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Huvishka. Further to these epigraphic evidence for the existence of Devakula in the Kushāṇa times we find in the Mathurā Archaeological Museum a group of statues consisting of "the portraits of Kanishka, his predecessor, Wema Kadphises, and a Kushāṇa satrap, Chashtana"<sup>37</sup>. These portrait-statues of the Kushāṇa monarchs were most probably meant for installation in the Devakula. A correct explanation of the term 'Devakula' is found out in Bhāsa's drama "Pratimā" (Act. III), where it is shown that Bharata, on being introduced by a Daivakulika to the royal-gallery of portrait-statues of Dilipa, Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha, in the Pratima-gṛha (statue-house), was able to infer the condition of Daśaratha on Rāma's departure to the forest. It depends upon the date of Bhāsa whether the practice of setting up 'Devakulas' prevailed in India and was adopted by the Kushāṇa rulers. It has been suggested that Kālidāsa flourished in the fourth century A.D. and the date of his predecessor, often referred to in Kālidāsa's works, may be placed in the second-third century A.D.<sup>38</sup> Bhāsa is shown, on linguistic grounds, as a successor of Aśvaghoṣa who is believed to have flourished in the first century A.D. In that case, the Kushāṇa practice of erecting 'Devakula' was probably incorporated in the theme of Bhāsa's drama 'Pratimā'. But, on the other hand, the pre-Kauṭilyan date of Bhāsa has been suggested and he has been placed in the fourth century B.C.<sup>39</sup> If this line of argument is followed, we have to assume that the Kushāṇa rulers adopted the system of setting up 'Devakula' from the Indians of pre-Maurya times to and not from the Romans, as it has been generally supposed by scholars<sup>41</sup>. A foreign influence behind the manufacture and installa-



tion of royal portrait-statues has been traced to the Kushāṇas' knowledge of the Roman practice of erecting likenesses of the deified Caesars or the Parthian commemorations of mortal sovereigns. From the stylistic point of view, the latter possibility seems to be more probable, according to B. Rowland<sup>42</sup>. The possibility of borrowing the Roman practice cannot be ruled out in view of the closeness of Indo-Roman trade and commercial relations in the early centuries of the Christian era. Again, we should not overlook that the Kushāṇas were sometimes inclined to borrow devices for representing the royal portraits on their coinage from the Parthians. A search for the prototype of "King sacrificing at an altar" device among the issue of contemporary dynasties reveals that similar type really occurs on certain coins of the Parthian kings of the Arsacid dynasty<sup>43</sup>. The royal cult or the cult of the dead king might have been derived by the Parthians from ancient Mesopotamian tradition<sup>44</sup>. In the background of such evidences the Ārā Inscription<sup>45</sup> of the year 41 probably gives us a clue. In this record we find the occurrence of the Roman imperial title "Caesar" (Kaisara) along with the name of Kanishka, son of Vāsishka. It probably indicates that at one stage the Kushāṇas were influenced by the Roman concept of Kingship. It is more likely that the idea of 'Devakula' was adopted by the Kushāṇas from the Romans, if we have to trace a foreign influence in this case. The deification and worship of the dead kings has been compared to "devapitripujā" referred to in Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra (II.6)<sup>46</sup>. On the basis of pre-Kauṭilyan date of Bhāsa, established by a host of scholars including Ganapati Śāstrī and H. P. Śāstrī, as well as Kauṭilya's reference to an age old tradition of "devapitripujā", it may be assumed that the system of 'Devakula' might have been prevailing in India since early times. In that case, the Kushāṇas' borrowing of the system from India becomes a possibility.



*Divinity of Kingship*

The Kushāṇa rulers assumed the title 'Devapūtra', represented their own portraits with signs of divinity on their coinage and apotheosised the deceased kings by setting up 'Devakulas', and thus emphasised the divine origin of kingship.

In contemporary political thoughts we find justification of the theory of divine origin of kingship. In the Sānti-parvan of the Mahābhārata (XXII. 59) the original king is represented as the descendant of God<sup>47</sup>. It is said that the gods addressed themselves to Vishṇu and requested Him to ordain someone who deserved the highest place among men, and the Great God accordingly appointed His mind-begotten son Virajas for this task. But Virajas and his two successors were ascetics and neglected the royal duties, the fourth lineal descendant was a true ruler expert in dandanīti, the fifth was self-indulgent and the sixth called Veṇa was unrighteous towards his subjects. It was in the seventh generation of this line of rulers that true kingship came into existence by the accession of Prithu. The gods Vishṇu and Brahmā with the lesser gods headed by Indra joined in his consecration. Vishṇu Himself fixed the King's status so that no one else could surpass him, and He finally entered the King's person by His ascetic power. This story contains Bhīṣma's answer to Yudhisṭhira's question about the basis of the King's authority over his subjects. We find that the doctrine of divinity of the King forms a distinctive feature of Bhīṣma's theory of Kingship.

Manu also holds the King to be a compound of particles of the Regents of the Quarters by Divine Creation. It is said in the Manu Samhitā (Ch. VII. 7) about the King: "Through his (supernatural) power he is Fire and Wind, he Sun and Moon, he the Lord of Justice (Yama), he Kubera, he Varuṇa, he great Indra"<sup>48</sup>. Again, Manu (VII.8) asserts that "even an infant King must not be despised (from an idea) that he is a (mere) mortal; for



he is a great deity in human form (*Mahatidevatā hi eṣhā nara-rūpena tiṣṭhāti*)<sup>49</sup>. Manu thus agrees with Bhīṣma in emphasising upon the King's divinity. Because the King is formed of particles of the gods, he surpasses all created beings in lustre. On the coinage of Wema Kadphises we read the royal epithets "Sarva-loga-īśvara" and "Mahīśvara", to which the King, by dint of his divinity, had natural claim.

In the Mahāyāna Buddhist text *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra* (Ch. XII, 5-12) we find an echo of the theory of divine origin of Kingship enunciated by Bhīṣma and Manu. The gods ask Brahmā: why is it that the King born of man (*manushya-sambhūta rājā*) is styled a god (*deva*) and a son of god (*Devaputra*) and how does the king born in the world of men assume the character of a god and rule over men? In reply the Great God says: The King, being first established by the gods, enters his mother's womb; what though the King is born and dies in the world of men, he is sprung from the gods (*devasambhuto*) and is called 'devaputra' (*devaputraḥ sa uchyate*); the thirty-three gods gave their portions to the King (*trayastrimśair devarājendrain bhāgodatta nṛpasya hi*), and he is thus equipped for sonship of all the gods (*putrāstvam sarvadevānām nirmīto manuṣeśvaraḥ*)<sup>50</sup>.

In ancient Indian political philosophy the theory of divine origin of king is to be distinguished from that of divine right. No King was vested with divine right<sup>51</sup>. When the King is described in the ancient scriptures 'god' (*Deva*), his importance to the community is extolled. The functions of the King are usually equated with gods<sup>52</sup>. The King, who fulfilled his duties of giving protection to the people and of ensuring welfare to them, could claim divine stature. We read in the *Śāntiparvan* (Ch. 59) of the *Mahābhārata* that King Veṇa was killed by the Sages for his tyranny. In the *Nārada-smṛiti* an unrestricted absolutism is claimed for the King who must be obeyed



irrespective of his worth and competence. However, the Kushāṇa Kings, although they claimed divinity, probably did not attempt to exert divine right or to claim absolute power. There is evidence to show that they paid proper respect to the will of the people. It will be discussed later on.

In the Maurya period the King did not claim divinity, although he enjoyed command and control over a vast empire. The post-Maurya period witnessed political disintegration. The Kushāṇas, who appeared in the role of conquerors in India, made successful attempt to bring about political unity in the greater part of Northern India. The Kushāṇa monarchs; though some of them were Buddhists, exalted their own position by adopting the devices of deification. The rulers were most probably in favour of increasing the royal authority in the eyes of the ruled, so that the forces of disintegration, which had already set in with the decline of the Mauryas, could have been effectively checked. In contradistinction to the theory of Divine Right in England accompanied by the emergence of a strong political authority, the Kushāṇas strengthened political authority of the King by invoking the theory of divine origin minus that of divine right. Like true Indian rulers they did never attempt to establish despotism. That does not necessarily prove the weakness of their political power<sup>3</sup>. If the potentiality of the idea of the divinity of the King in strengthening royal authority is accepted, it is not reasonable to assume the weakness of the King's authority on the ground of decentralisation which is usually confronted by a power on the ascendancy. If the satrapal system of administration is held to be the factor behind decentralisation occurring even after the establishment of a royal authority, we have to accept though with much difficulty, that the Achaemenian emperors themselves attempted to cancel the weakness of their authority by adopting high-sounding imperial titles like "Xāvathiyānam Xāyathiya".



In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra ( XIII. 1 ) there are references to ingenious devices for the propagation of the supernatural powers of the ruler, his close association with gods. The King, desirous of conquest, should impress upon the people of enemy's country his own divine character in order to win over their allegiance without difficulty. The people who have already become subjects to the conqueror maintain their loyalty steadfastly to him, believing that their ruler is a "Son of Heaven". The Semi-divine figures of the Kushāṇa Kings on their coinage and their assumption of the title "devaputra" might have served the purpose of exploiting the religious sentiments of the conquered people in India.

### *Kaisara ( Caesar )*

It is shown by the Ārā stone inscription that Kanishka II held the Roman imperial title "Caesar" ( Kaisara ) along with Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Devaputra. In the official style of the Roman emperors we find the title "Imperator" first, 'Caesar' next, after 'Imperator Caesar' the emperor's own name and his father's name too, next is found the traditional title of honour 'Augustus' and finally his official appointment like 'Pontifex Maximus' that is, head of the state-religion<sup>54</sup>. It is significant that the title "Caesar" was chosen by the Kushāṇa monarch. The Roman title "Imperator" may be compared to the Kushāṇa title "Rājātīrāja", the emperor ruling over the provincial governors and feudatories. Like the Imperator, the Rājātīrāja was the supreme commander of his army, generally recruited from different parts of the empire, obviously with the implicit assent or direct consent of the chiefs, 'Shāhis' or 'Kshatrapas', ruling in the respective areas. The Roman title 'Augustus' is of primitive religious significance with the connotations of "The Holy", "The Bringer of Fertility", "The Bringer of Good Luck", "The Auspicious" etc. The



Kushāṇa title "Devaputra" ( Son of Heaven ) might signify one who is directly related to God whose favours and protection ensure for the people good luck, fortune, material prosperity and happiness. Therefore, "Caesar", a conventionalised Roman title which had originally been a family name, was adopted by Kanishka II with the purpose of further exalting his position. It was adopted neither to challenge the Roman power<sup>55</sup> or to place himself on a footing of equality with the Roman emperor.<sup>56</sup>

There may have been some truth in Konow's statement that the imperial Roman title "Caesar" presupposes that the Ārā stone inscription was executed at a time when the Roman Empire was known in India as a powerful state<sup>57</sup>. The Roman Emperor Trajan is known to have launched an attack on the Parthians in A.D. 114-116 and achieved the most spectacular success in conquering Armenia, Mesopotamia and Babylonia<sup>58</sup>. Dion Cassius, the Roman historian, informs us: "To Trajan, after he had arrived in Rome, there came a great many embassies from barbarian courts, and especially from the Indians, and he offered shows....., made the deputies, who came from the Kings, sit in the seats of the senators when visiting the show"<sup>59</sup>. Trajan's military victories in Parthia made the Roman Empire known in India as a powerful state. Embassies were probably sent from India to the court of Trajan, just after his return from Parthia to Rome in A.D. 116, in order to extend to him due respectful recognition. On the other hand, the honour received by the "King's deputies" at the Roman court, as stated in the account of Dian Cassius, is probably suggestive of an official recognition to the Kushāṇa King who may have reasonably sent those deputies or ambassadors. Hadrian, who succeeded Trajan, maintained peaceful relations with Parthia and received messages of friendship from Indian and Bactrian Kings<sup>60</sup>.

It is likely that the title "Caesar" was assumed by



Kanishka II, when peace had been established in Asia shortly after a successful exhibition of Roman military power on her soil<sup>61</sup>. Gold coins discovered in the Ahin Posh stūpa<sup>62</sup> (Jelalabad, Afghanistan) included ten of Wema Kadphises, six of Kanishka, one of Huvishka, one of Domitian (A.D. 81-96), one of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) and one of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). The find of Sabina's coin indicates the date of the deposit, not earlier than A.D. 117, the first known date of Hadrian. It furnishes us with a ground to believe that the reign-periods of Kadphises II, Kanishka I and Huvishka covered those of Domitian, Trajan and Hadrian. Kanishka II of the Ārā Inscription dated in the year 41 (A.D. 119), whose reign overlaps with that of Huvishka, should have flourished in the early part of the reign of Hadrian. It was probably at the end of Trajan's reign and the beginning of Hadrian's reign that the title "Caesar" was adopted by Kanishka II as a device for further exaltation of his own position.

The title "Caesar" is known to us only from a single record of the second century A.D. From no other inscription of coin do we obtain the evidence to show that any Kushāṇa monarch other than Kanishka II made use of the Roman title. The Roman influence on the concept of Kushāṇa Kingship, it seems, was not permanent.

#### *Nature of the Authority of the King: Legal Sovereignty*

The coin-legends and the titles in the epigraphic records point out the status of the monarch. Besides the Sanskrit titles "Mahārāja Rājātirāja", the Greek ones "Basileus Balleon" and the Iranian "Shāonāno Shāo" (Shāhānshāh) suggest that the Kushāṇa monarch exhibited his position to all his subjects — Indians, Greeks, Scytho-Parthians and Iranians<sup>63</sup>. It is most unlikely that the assumption of the Roman title and the adoption of the Roman bust



on early Kushāṇa coinage aimed at an exhibition of the Kushāṇa ruler's status before the Roman merchants who very often visited India in connection with trade and commerce with the sub-continent as also with the Chinese Empire through North-West India. The divine origin of the King, as suggested by the title "Devaputra" reflects the assumption of supreme powers by him.

There is no reference to Counsellors (Mantrins) or Council of Ministers in the records of the Kushāṇas. The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman<sup>64</sup>, dated in the Śaka year 72, that is, A.D. 150 refers to both Matī-sachivas (counsellor and policymakers) and Karmasachivas (high executive state officers) endowed with the ministerial qualifications (amāty-guṇa-samudjuktaiḥ). The sachivas formed a healthy check to the King's becoming despotic. It is evident that the teaching of the writers of treatises on polity (Arthaśāstra) was not lost upon the Śaka ruler<sup>65</sup> who introduced the "sachivāyattatantra" (a political system controlled by 'Sachivas') as called by the author of the 'Mudrārākshasa' drama. In this regard the Scythian polity closely followed that of the Maurya period. The stray references in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna indicate that the same system dominated by the highest ministerial functionaries prevailed in its own time, that is, the period between the first and the third century A.D.<sup>66</sup> The Divyāvadāna (p. 359, 291)<sup>67</sup>, composed most probably in the second-third centuries A.D., refers to a council assisting the King of which the members were known as 'Pārishadyam'. The same text refers to "tulaka", the word used for a councillor. In the Saddharma Puṇḍarika (xiii, p. 288) placed in the first-second centuries A.D., the King's councillor Rājāmātya is distinguished from Rājamahatṛa. Thus, the contemporary records and Buddhist literature give us an impression of the "sachivāyatta-tantra". But in the records referring to the Kushāṇa rulers and dated in the era of Kanishka we find no mention of sachivas,



amātyas, mantrins or Parishad. On the other hand, the high-sounding imperial titles suggest the all-powerful position of an absolute monarch.

The Kushāṇa epigraphs are mostly private records. In those records we have enough evidence of the religious gifts made by some officers and individuals who owe allegiance to the reigning Kushāṇa monarch. The Taxila silver scroll inscription<sup>68</sup> of the year 136 refers to the establishment of the relics of Buddha in the Dharma-rājikā stūpa of Taxila by a Bactrian named Urasaka, a resident of the city of Navāchala, for the bestowal of health on an unnamed Kushāṇa King, styled as Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra. The Mathurā stone Inscription<sup>69</sup> of Kanishka's year 28 records a perpetual endowment of five hundred fifty Purāṇas for feeding a hundred Brahmins in the Puṇyaśālā by lord of Bakana and Kharasalera in order that the merit might accrue to Devaputra Shāhi Huvishka. The Māt inscription<sup>70</sup> of the time of Huvishka records the repair of a tank and a Devakula by a Bakana-pati, son of Mahādandanāyaka for the life and prosperity of mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Huvishka. The Wardak bronze vase inscription<sup>71</sup> dated in Kanishka's year 51 records the establishment of the relics of Lord Śākyamuni in the Vagrameregavihāra, in a stūpa, by the Kamagulya scion Vagramarega for the spiritual merit of mahārāja rājātirāja Huvishka. The Ārā stone inscription ( Kanishka's year 41 ) records the digging of the well by Dasabhara of the Peshawarian scions, during the reign of mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kaisara Kanishka. son of Vājeshka, in honour of his mother and father for the benefit of himself with his wife and son, for the welfare of all beings in the various births. We have cited a few examples of the subjects owing allegiance to the King and making religious gifts not always for the spiritual benefit for himself and his relatives but sometimes for the prosperity and happiness of the reigning monarch. The allegiance



of the donor or the religious benefactor to the Kushāṇa ruler is uniformly found both in Kharoshthī and Brāhmī records. It seems to indicate that the King, in the Kushāṇa period, enjoyed supreme command and control over the people living in a vast stretch of territory extending from Bactria to Benares. But the private records hardly furnish us with informations related to the powers and functions of the sovereign.

The numismatic evidences are, no doubt, official in character. Besides the glorious titles along with names of kings, we get the royal portraits on the obverse of coins which might have some bearing upon the King's role both as a supreme commander and as an executive authority. The Kushāṇa coinage presents the following features in the representation of the Kings :

- (1) Different gestures and postures of the King — He may be found either seated or standing, looking to left or right, with his hands raised or down ;
- (2) Different objects accompany the figure of the king— A fire altar with the king standing before it, a couch, a cushion or a throne with the king seated on it may be observed ;
- (3) King riding an elephant or a Biga ;
- (4) Half-length figures or bust of kings ;
- (5) Head-dresses like diadem, round jewelled helmet, pointed helmet, and wide-brimmed hat ;
- (6) Costumes of the King — Heavy long coat or tunic, trousers, heavy boots and ornaments ;
- (7) Weapons and other objects held in King's hand— spear, sword, club, trident, sceptre, standard, flower, tree-branch, noose etc.
- (8) Divine signs — Flames, clouds, nimbus, halo or crescent with the figure of the King<sup>72</sup>. The feature has already been discussed above in connection with the divinity of Kingship.

There may be difference of opinions whether the King's



figures found on the Kushāṇa coinage actually represented the royal portraits or those may be treated only as devices adopted by the die-cutters by the order from royal authority. Whatever that may be, varied obverse devices, if studied carefully are found to have some implications which are significant in determining the role of the King in the Kushāṇa state. The 'Macedonian soldier' type of Kadphises I's coins, bearing helmeted head of the King on the obverse and an armed soldier wearing a Kausia-like helmet, standing with spear and shield, were probably issued when the Kushāṇa chief (Yavuga) was involved in some military engagements. The 'Diademed head and enthroned king' type of Kadphises I's coins show on the obverse diademed head of king resembling the bust of Augustus on Roman coins and on the reverse the King seated on a curule chair with right hand extended. Diadem on King's head, no doubt, implies his royal status, while the curule chair, being used as a seat of the king, implies probably his judicial authority. We find very often the headdress, combining both diadem and helmet, used by the Kushāṇa rulers. Probably it implies that the Kushāṇa Kingship was, more often than not, associated with military functions or duties. On the "Enthroned King" type of Kadphises II's coins we find the king using the combined headdress and holding a thunderbolt which may have some connection with the functions of the Greek god Zeus or the Indian god Indra. A flower or a tree-branch held in the hand of the enthroned king has probably an association with his relaxing mood. The half-length figure or bust of king Wema Kadphises is often with club, elephant-goad or sceptre. While the sceptre should be treated as a symbol of royal rank or power, the elephant-goad is an implement held by the king riding an elephant in battle-field, and the club is, no doubt, an aggressive war-weapon. It is to be noted in this connection that club and elephant-goad are often found to be held by the king at the same



time. In fact, Kadphises II is found to have been riding a Biga with a club on his right shoulder and again he is found as an elephant-rider with a club (sceptre, according to some). On some silver and copper coins, the King appears as standing to left, wearing diadem and helmet, and sacrificing at an altar with his right hand, being accompanied by a trident-battle-axe combined and a club (BMC XXV, 11, 12). It introduces into Kushāṇa coinage a motif which remains a basic theme of the royal portrait into the time of Kanishka, Vāsudeva, the later Kushāṇas and even the early Imperial Guptas.

On gold and copper coins of Kanishka we often find the device "King sacrificing at an altar" as described above, although on a series of gold specimens is represented the diademed helmeted bust of the King. It is to be noted that the king represented as sacrificing at an altar is found to have held some weapons or to have been accompanied by some weapons. On the coins he is shown as holding a spear in his left hand (BMC XXVI, 1) or an elephant-goad in his right hand over the altar and a spear in his left hand (BMC XXVI, 4) or holding in left hand a spear bound with fillet and being accompanied by a trident (BMC XXVI, 18) or he is shown with a sceptre in his left hand (BMC XXVI, 16). In all cases the King's dress consists of a long tunic, trousers and boots. This particular motif of the royal portrait gives us an impression of a military ruler faithfully discharging the religious services.

On Huvishka's coins occurs the devices like 'Diademed and helmeted bust of King', 'Elephant-rider King' and 'Enthroned King'. Elaborate ornamentation is one of the characteristic features of the 'Bust of King' device on Huvishka's gold coinage (N.C. XII. 3rd Ser. Pl. XXIX, A, B, C). Along with the bust we find in king's hands either sceptre and club, or elephant-goad and club. On the 'Elephant-rider' type of gold coinage the King is found



to have held a standard or both elephant-goad and spear (BMC, XXVII, 10; NC XII, 3rd Pl. XXII, 1). On the same type of copper coins Huvishka is represented as holding a sceptre and an elephant-goad (BMC XXIX, 2). On the 'Enthroned King' type of copper coins the king is found with varying gestures and postures, in some cases armed with a long trident (PMC I Kushāṇa Coin No. 172) or, a short sceptre (IMC I Huvishka's Coin No. 64) or, a spear (IMC I Huvishka's Coin No. 76).

On the coinage of Vāsudeva I and his successors we find again the King represented as standing to left, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and pointing downwards with his right hand towards a small altar (NC, 1892, Pl. XXIV, A).

The study of the obverse devices of the Kushāṇa coinage would show the King's head diademed and helmeted, his body covered with Central Asian dresses and his hands armed with elephant-goad, sceptre, club, spear or trident. We find out the Kushāṇa King as an enthroned ruler, a military commander and a performer of sacrifices. As wielder of elephant-goad, club, spear or trident, the Kushāṇa monarch was the supreme commander of his forces and conqueror of enemy's territories, while holding a sceptre (rājadaṇḍa) he was the protector of his subjects' life and property, ensuring law and order in the State. The role of the Roman Pontifex Maximus (Chief Priest) was probably assumed by the king as a performer of sacrifices, either Iranian or Brahmanical, for the common good of the people. On the basis of the numismatic evidences it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the Kushāṇa King had concentrated in his hands the supreme military, judicial and executive powers, discharging even the State religious functions and thus justified his claims to the dignified imperial titles "Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kaisara", "Shaonano Shao", "Basileos Basileon Soter Megas", Sarva-loga-īśvara Mahīśvara".



*The Limits of Authority : Political Sovereignty*

Apparently there was no check on the authority of the absolute powers of the Kushāṇa King, as we find no mention of 'Mantrins' or 'Mantriparishad' in their records. But the subservience of the king to sacred law and customary practice, the strategic position of the Brahmins in traditional society, the dependence of the Buddhist Kushāṇa kings upon the Śramaṇas for guidance in Dhamma, an expression of the will of the people through civic institutions like corporations and trade-guilds and practical problems of administration definitely brought upon the royal authority positive checks.<sup>73</sup> As a result, political sovereignty actually belonged to the ruled, the subjects, or the people at large, who were the real beneficiaries of the State. The legal sovereign was bound to carry out the will of the people.

The Kushāṇa court was adorned by Pārśva, Vasumitra, Aśvaghosha, Caraka, Nāgārjuna, Saṃgharaksha, Māthara, Agesilaos who played their respective rôle in the religious, literary, scientific, philosophical and artistic activities of the period<sup>74</sup>. The popular assumption that the poets, philosophers, scientists and artists living in a King's Court in ancient time were meant for only receiving royal patronage and, therefore, had to undergo exploitation, should be discarded in favour of the view that these personalities used to exert a great influence upon the policy of the King interested in improving the socio-religious, moral and cultural life of the people. In the Samyukta ratna-piṭaka<sup>75</sup> the Bodhisattva Aśvaghosha is mentioned as a spiritual counsellor of Kanishka — besides Māthara and Caraka. The Buddhist patriarch Nāgārjuna probably flourished in the time of Kanishka II and Huvishka.<sup>76</sup> Kanishka had consultation with Pārśva before convening the Fourth Buddhist Council which was held probably under the presidency of Vasumitra<sup>77</sup>. It was with the advice of the Greek engineer Agesilaos (navakarmika) that Kanishka



caused a big relic tower to be built in his capital at Peshawar. Invaluable informations are furnished by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang with regard to the Fourth Buddhist Council and Peshawar relic tower (Ref. : Peshawar relic casket Inscription ).

The Kushāṇa Kings like Kanishka and Huvishka who had upheld the cause of Buddhism, should have followed the advice given to them by the Buddhist scholars on 'rājadharmā'. If the King thought that he was responsible to none but himself, his God or conscience, he might have been reminded of the statement made on behalf of the people in the Buddhist text *Mahāvastu-Avadāna* : "Your Majesty is quite fit to punish him among us who deserves punishment and reward or favour him who deserves honour. We all approve of your being placed at the head of all men (cf. the epithet "Sarva-loga-īśvara" on Wema Kadphises and "Sarva-satvānām agratāyai Saṁman-yema" in the *Mahāvastu* ). And we shall offer you one-sixth of śālī-paddy ( *Shashṭham Śālībhāgam* ) grown in Śālī-fields of each of us".<sup>78</sup> This is echoing the statement in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* ( I. 13 ) which implies that the King agreed to rule righteously and protect the rights and properties of his subjects, who again agreed to pay him taxes in the shape of one-sixth of their produce. Therefore, the King was responsible neither to himself nor to any Divinity of his choice but to the people whom he ruled. The question may be raised whether the Kushāṇas, who had established their empire by sword, could adopt the concept that the King was a paid servant to the people. But on the coins of Kujula Kadphises we find an epithet of the King "satyadharmasthita" or steadfast or abiding in the true Law. Again, a Mathurā inscription ( JRAS, 1924, p. 402 ) represents Huvishka as the grandson of a King who has the appellation "Satyadharmasthita". It seems to indicate that the Kushāṇa Kings, although they had come from Central Asia, adopted Indian ideals in no time.



That the brahmins were not deprived of their traditional rights and privileges in a society, based on the Law of "Varṇāśrama", are evident from the records of the Kushāṇa period, Brahmanical divinities like Śiva, Umā and Kārttikeya on Kushāṇa coinage, references to Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa Śiva-Maheśvara, the Saptamātrikās, Varuṇa along with Kubera, Indra and others in contemporary Buddhist literary texts, the Mahāvastu ( I, p. 245 ), the Lalitavistara ( VII. p. 120 ), the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka ( XVII. 59 ), the Divyāvadāna ( p. 134, 24 ) and the Avadāna-śataka ( XIII, p. 71-10 ) respectively, and the statues of Brahmanical divinities like Śiva-Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, Skanda, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Brahmā, Agni, Kubera, the Mother-Goddesses, from Mathurā ( Vogel's Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum ). The Mathurā record<sup>79</sup> of the time of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Vāsishka, dated the year 24, inscribed on a Yūpa pillar recovered from Isāpur, now in the Mathurā Museum, records the setting up of the sacrificial post ( Yūpa ) and the performance of sacrificial rites in session for twelve days by Droṇala, son of Rudrila, a Chhāndogya Brahmin of the Bharadvāja gotra. The Mathurā Brāhmī inscription<sup>80</sup> dated in the year 28 of the time of Huvishka records a perpetual endowment of 550 purāṇas in each of the two guilds for feeding a hundred brahmins in the Puṇyaśālā, called Prāchīnī ( ancient ) and some provision to be kept everyday at the entrance of the hall for the sake of the destitute, the hungry and the thirsty by some lord of Bakana and Kharasalera. Another Mat inscription<sup>81</sup> of the time of Huvishka records the repair of a tank and a devakula by a Bakanapoti, son of a Mahā-danḍanāyaka, and refers to entrusting of the Devakula to Brahmins, provided with a grant. The evidences taken together leave no doubt that Brahmanism, standing for a particular socio-religious order which recognises the privileged position of the brahmins and the performance of sacrificial rites, did not receive any set back under the Kushāṇas. It indirectly proves that the Kushāṇa Kings



preserved and protected the brahmanical social order and thus gave recognition to the sacred law of the brahmins. Generally the people were governed by custom, Śruti and Smṛiti-prescriptions of law and the concept of own dharma.<sup>82</sup> In a caste-society the individual is removed from the immediate impact of political authority.<sup>83</sup>

In ancient times the rural society was to a great extent self-governing. The actual village administration was usually carried under the supervision and direction of the village-headman called 'grāmaṇī' or 'grāmika' whose office was, in most cases, hereditary. The village headman, with the advice and assistance of the village-council (pañchāyet) looked after defence, settled disputes, collected the revenue, kept records of village-lands and organised the works of public utility. The State had a rare occasion to intervene into the internal affairs of the villages. The village communities and councils derived their powers from immemorial custom and not from any charter of delegation from the Central Government.<sup>84</sup> "Dynasty after dynasties tumbled down; the Mauryas, the Greeks, the Śakas, the Parthians and the Kushāṇas ruled in turn" but the village communities and councils remained the same. Political changes had the least influence over the self-governed rural society. The traditional system of local self-government caused political decentralisation which was certainly the most significant practical check on monarchical power. The grāmika is mentioned in the Mathurā Jain inscription of the time of Vāsudeva.<sup>85</sup> Another Mathurā Jain image inscription of the Kushāṇa times<sup>86</sup> mentions two generations of 'grāmikas'. The epigraphic evidences point out that the village institution, which was of hoary antiquity, continued in the Kushāṇa period. The ancient Indian village was the centre of administration. Each was in fact a self-sufficient republic.<sup>87</sup> The King was bound to respect the will of the people expressed through the village councils.

Similarly, the corporations or guilds (Nigama) also gave



expression to the will of the traders and the merchants, generally governed by their own law, and acted as checks on the absolute powers of the King. The Jātakas mention eighteen guilds (Seni)<sup>88</sup>, while the number of guilds mentioned in the contemporary Sanskrit-Buddhist text Mahāvastu (III) is thirty-four: Sanvarṇika (goldsmith), hairaṇyika (dealers in gold), pravaraṇika (cloak-dealers), maṇiprastāraṇika (dealers in precious stones), maṇikāra (gem-engravers), śaṃkhika (makers of conch-shell articles), dantakāraṇika (makers of ivory articles), gandhika (perfumers), Kośāvika (workers in silk-worms), tailika (oil manufacturers), ghritakuṇḍika (dealers in clarified butter), vārika (dealers in vessels for liquors), kārpāsika (cotton-dealers), dadhyika (dealers in curd), pupika (cake-makers), Khaṇḍakāraṇika (makers of candied sugar), modakakāraṇika (sweetmeat makers), Kaṇḍaka (cane or reed workers), samitakāraṇika (grinders of wheat flour), saktukāraṇika (makers of barley flours), phalavāṇija (dealers in fruits), mūlavāṇija (dealers in plant-roots), churnakuṭṭa (powder-makers), gandhatailika (dealers in perfume oils), āgrivāṇiya (uncertain), ābiddhaka (metal-drillers), guḍapāchaka (manufacturers of molasses), khaṇḍapāchaka (cookers of sugar candies), śunthika (vendors in dry gingers), sīdhukāraṇika (makers of distilled spirit), madhukāraṇika (honey-gatherers or makers of wine), śakravāṇija (sugar merchants). These guilds accepted permanent deposits and discharged the services of modern banks. The Mathurā inscription dated in the year 28 of the time of Huvishka records deposits of 550 Purāṇas in each of the two guilds of 'samitakara' and probably 'dhamṇika' with the condition that out of the interest that accrued from month to month, a hundred brahmins were to be fed in the alms-house, and some provision was to be left for the poor. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has observed: "The guild in ancient India was not merely the means for the development of arts and crafts, but through the autonomy and freedom accorded to



it by the law of the land, it became a centre of strength and an abode of liberal culture and progress, which truly made it a power and ornament of the society".<sup>89</sup> Manu ( VIII. 41 ) requires the righteous King to consider carefully the dharmas of castes, countries, 'guilds' and families and uphold those dharmas. Yājñavalkya ( II. 192 ) prescribes that the King should respect the usages and conventions of occupational guilds, merchants, heretical sects, and group or corporations and allow them to pursue the course of action they had followed from ancient times. Nārada ( XIII. 2 ) provides that the guilds were autonomous bodies having their own rules, regulations and bye-laws, which were to be accepted by the State. Disputes among their members were settled by their own executive and not by the State tribunal. Financially they were quite self-sufficient. In case of emergency a guild could raise a militia from among its own members and employees to afford protection to the person, property and merchandise of its members.<sup>90</sup>

In the Śāka-Kushāṇa period the tribal republics continued to flourish as in the days of Buddha and Alexander. The Republics ( Gaṇa ) within the Kushāṇa empire followed their own procedures. The numismatic evidences<sup>91</sup> suggest that the republican tribes like the Yaudheyas, the Ārjunāyanas and the Mālavas were settled in different parts of the Punjab and Rajputana. They declared their complete independence, on the decline of the Kushāṇa empire, again to pay their submission to the Imperial Guptas, as it is shown by the Allahabad pillar inscription<sup>92</sup> of Samudra Gupta. We find reference to the Mālavas in one of the Nāsik cave inscriptions of Nahapāna<sup>93</sup> and to the Yaudheyas in the Junāgaḍh inscription<sup>94</sup> of Rudradāman. The procedural details of the republican constitution are known from the early Buddhist texts.<sup>95</sup> The administrative and judicial business was carried on in a mote-hall. A single chief ( saṃgha or Gaṇa-mukhya ) presided over the sessions and sometimes bore the title of



'rājā', as we find in the case of the Audumberos known to us from their coins. The procedure prescribed by Buddha for the deliberations of the saṃgha in the Mahāparinibbāna-sūtta was borrowed from the procedure followed by the republics in their deliberations.<sup>96</sup> The Mahābhārata in the Śāntiparvan ( 107.27-32 ) cautions against internal dissensions which are at the root of the ruin of gaṇas ( bheda-mūlo bināśo hi gaṇānām ). However, the non-monarchical forms of government tended to put a check on the absolute authoritarianism of the mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra. There is little doubt about the fact that no outside interference was allowed in regard to the internal affairs of the republics.

The Kushāṇas closely followed their Scytho-Parthian predecessors in adopting the Satrapal system, originally borrowed from the Persians. It seems that the practical problems of administration were attempted to be solved by the adoption of the system. Provincial internal autonomy was the sine qua non of the rule by Kshatrapas appointed by the Emperor, even though there might have been official checks and balances, over the Kshatrapa-powers. The tendency towards political decentralization is evident not only from the nature of the satrapal system of government but also from the character of local autonomy granted to the villages, guilds and republics by the law of the Land. The Brahmanical social order was, in no way, less responsible in alerting the Rājātirāja about his duties and obligation to the "Varṇāśramadharma". The Buddhist Śramaṇas who may have played sometimes significant role in guiding the state-policy were, more often than not, trained in the school of Kauṭilya, Bhīṣma and Manu. The political principles or ideals of government, as enunciated in the Buddhist texts like the Mahāvastu or the Suvarṇaprabhāṣottamasūtra, are found to have been refashioning of the age-old Brahmanical theories on state and government.



The socio-religious or socio-ethical views of the people were often expressed through different religious sects to which they belonged. The brahmins performing Vedic sacrifices, the Hindus, in general, worshipping the deities of the Pauranic pantheon, the Buddhists firmly believing in the efficacy of the worship of Buddha in his human form, the Greeks devoting themselves to the Hellenic gods and goddesses and the Iranians adhering to their own religious beliefs and customs inhabited the different parts of the far-flung Kushāṇa Empire. The Kushāṇa Kings conscientiously gave official recognition to the divinities of their subjects by representing them on the coinage and did not unscrupulously impose upon them a dogma as state-religion. The attitude of the legal sovereign, that is, the king himself, towards the political sovereign, that is, the community, is to, a great extent, indicated by the varied reverse devices of the Kushāṇa coinage showing the divinities who are representative of the Indians, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, the Iranians and the Graeco-Romans. The King who is often represented as sacrificing at an altar was anxious for the common weal of the people. Kauṭilya (IV.3) devotes a chapter to the King's duty to save the kingdom from national calamities and gives practical hints of religious remedies and rites against these calamities.<sup>97</sup> Indian tradition, however, is least familiar with the King himself officiating as a priest to perform such sacrifices, even on a state level. If Kauṭilya's prescriptions in case of national calamities do not apply in explaining the position of the Kushāṇa King sacrificing at an altar, the special Kushāṇa coin-device may at least represent a belief in sacrificial religion, common to both Brahmanism and Iranianism.



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*Chapter IV*

## GOVERNMENT

In the Scythian age the wide prevalence of the system of 'Yauvarājya' and 'Dvairājya' has been observed<sup>1</sup>. It is difficult to ascertain, due to dearth of evidences, whether those systems were adopted by the Kushāṇas who established a strong monarchical form of government.

*Rule of a crown prince ( Yauvarājya )*

The Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of the time of Rañjuvala and Sodāsa mention the ruling Yuvarāja Kharaosta. The first Kushāṇa monarch Kujula Kadphises, who is known from the Annals of the Later Han Dynasty to have lived up to the age of eighty, probably associated himself with his crown-prince Wema Kadphises in the later part of his life. Probably as a crown prince Kadphises II took up the scheme of Indian conquests. Otherwise, we would not have found large number of Kadphises I's coins in Taxila<sup>3</sup>. The Hou-Han-Shu credits Yen-Kao-Chen ( Wema ) with the conquest of Tien-tchou, i.e. India. Gandhāra and Taxila were probably added by Wema to the earlier conquests of Kujula, not after the former's accession but during the life-time of the latter. Wema conquered India and put in circulation in the newly annexed territories the currency of the age-old king, most probably retired in the practical sense of the term, but still living. The discovery of Kujula Kadphises' coins in Taxila and the evidences of the Hou-Han-Shu can be reconciled only by assuming the Yauvarājya of Wema Kadphises who is also known to have set up generals to take charge of the newly acquired Indian territories<sup>4</sup>.



Marshall thinks that the coins bearing the legend "Maharayasa Rayatirayasa Kujula Kara Kaphasa Sachadhramathitasa" may have been issued by the crown-prince Vima.<sup>5</sup> 'Kara' has been interpreted as the equivalent of 'Kala' used in Tukestan with the meaning of "prince". 'Kujula Kara' is significant enough to show that the old monarch was still living, although his son Vema, for all practical purposes, assumed the reins of the government and justified his de facto position by holding the imperial titles "Mahārāja Rājātirāja". However, no other Kushāṇa crown-prince is known to have assumed power as Wema Kadphises.

### *Joint-rule ( Dvairājya )*

Under this form of government the sovereign's brother, son, grandson, or nephew had an important share in the administration as co-ruler or subordinate colleague. The joint-issues of coinage by Azes I and Azilises, Azilises and Azes II, Azes II and Aspavarman, Gondopharnes and Aspavarman, Gondopharnes and Gad, Gondopharnes and Abdagases supply us the evidences on this prevailing system adopted by the Scythians and the Parthians. The Andhau inscriptions<sup>6</sup> suggest that the West Indian Śaka King Chashtana ruled in the capacity of Mahākshatrapa conjointly with his grandson Kshatrapa Rudradāman.

We have numismatic evidences to show that the Kushāṇas adopted the joint-rule system. But the dating of the Kushāṇa records suggest the overlapping of two reigns in some cases. Kanishka I is known to have ruled from the year 1 to 23. Rājan Vāsishka appears in the Sāñchī inscription<sup>7</sup> of the year 22. The same Kushāṇa King is found mentioned as mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Vāsishka in the Mathurā Yūpa inscription<sup>8</sup> of the year 24. The evidences indicate that Vāsishka is probably associated, in the capacity of a subordinate colleague, with Kanishka



I for the years 22 and 23, after which the former got promotion to the position of the latter. The last date of Vāsishka is the year 28 known to us from the Sāñchī Bodhisattva inscription.<sup>9</sup> The year 28 is found also as the date of the earliest known record of Huvishka, the Mathurā inscription.<sup>10</sup> The coincidence is an indicator of the association of Huvishka with Vāsishka in the administration for a short period. Huvishka is known to have ruled from the year 28 to 60. The Ārā stone inscription<sup>11</sup> of the year 41 shows overlapping of the reign of Kanishka II, son of Vājshesha (Vāsishka), with that of Huvishka. It might testify to the conjoint rule of Huvishka and Kanishka II for some time. All the evidences collected here may have been interpreted from an altogether different point of view on the administrative relations between Kanishka I and Vāsishka, Vāsishka and Huvishka, and Huvishka and Kanishka II. But the probability of the joint-rule system being followed by the Kushāṇa Kings cannot be ruled out. The Sārnāth Buddhist image inscription<sup>12</sup> of the year 3 furnishes us with a positive evidence to establish that the joint-rule system used to be followed in the provincial government, Mahākshatrapa Kharapallana and Kshatrapa Vanaspara being the co-rulers in the eastern province of the Kushāṇa Empire.

#### *Problem of Succession*

The Hou-Han-Shu informs us that Kuei-tsiu-Kio i.e. Kujula Kadphises was succeeded by his son Yeu-Kao-chen or Wema Kadphises. The information may be used to suggest that Kingship was hereditary in the Kushāṇa times. But the problem of succession arises after Wema Kadphises. Because, his exact relationship with his successor Kanishka I is not known to us from any source. The Later Han Annals indicate that Wema set up viceroys or generals to take charge of administration of the Indian territories. It



has been suggested that the coins bearing the titles "Basileos Basileon Soter Megas" were issued by one or more viceroys who ruled in India.<sup>13</sup> The earlier records of Kanishka's reign having been found in Kauśāmbī and Benares, it may be assumed that he rose to power in Eastern India as one of the governors under Kadphises II.<sup>14</sup> But this view would have been unacceptable to those who identify 'mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Gushaṇa' of the Taxila silver-scroll inscription (of the year 136) with Kanishka I and read the regnal year I in the Peshawar relic casket inscription of Kanishka.<sup>15</sup>

Kanishka I, from whose era is calculated the dates of the records of his successors, was probably the founder of a new Kushāṇa family. Vāsishka, probably his son, started his administrative career in the life-time of Kanishka I and later on succeeded him. It is difficult to ascertain the exact relationship between Vāsishka and Huvishka. Kanishka II, son of Vāsishka, probably ruled conjointly with Huvishka for a short time. A Mathurā record of the time of Huvishka (JRAS, 1924, p. 402) represents him as the grandson of a King having the appellation 'steadfast in the true law' (sachadhrama thita = satyadharmasthita) which occurs on the coins of Kujula Kadphises. But nothing can be deduced from it. According to some scholars, there were two Huvishkas<sup>16</sup>, one with his coins bearing the name "Oeshko" on his coins and the other known as "Oeshki" from his coins. Even if it may be assumed that there were two Huvishkas, it is to be accepted that both of them ruled between the years 28 and 60. The records of the time of Vāsudeva, of which the earliest known date is the year 67, indicate a gap of time between Huvishka and his successor. It is difficult to ascertain the exact relationship between Huvishka and Vāsudeva.

The undated Mathurā inscription, referred to above, is open to two interpretations, for the phrase, "Mahārājā-



dhirāja-devaputrasya Huvishkasya pitāmahasya", may be translated not only as "of the grandfather of Huvishka" but also as "of Huvishka, the grandfather of Huvishka, then reigning". F. W. Thomas suggested that the second interpretation was the correct one, and that the grandfather's name was "inherited as usual by his grandson." The practice seems to have been followed by the Śaka predecessors of the Kushāṇas, if we accept the numismatic evidence indicating the succession line as Azes I—Azilises—Azes II.

On the assumption that the succession in the Kushāṇa dynasty was from father to son, and primogeniture was normal, the following succession list may be followed: Kanishka I—Vāsishka—Huvishka I—Kanishka II (brother of Huvishka I) — unknown king — Huvishka II (grand-nephew of Kanishka II) — Vāsudeva; alternatively, Kanishka I — Vāsishka — Huvishka I (brother of Vāsishka) — Kanishka II (son of Vāsishka) — unknown king — Huvishka II — Vāsudeva. But in both the list of succession one has to accommodate five or six generations within ninetyeight years.

To obviate the above difficulty A. L. Basham<sup>17</sup> suggested the system of succession from brother to brother, the eldest son of the eldest brother succeeding only when a whole generation of brothers was dead. It was known in ancient China and among some of the tribal people of Central Asia, the original home of the Kushāṇas.<sup>18</sup> The numismatic evidences tell us about the importance of King's brother (for example, Spalahores, brother of Vonones) in the administration of the Parthians. Working on this hypothesis in the case of the Kushāṇas, it may be suggested that Kanishka I was succeeded by his eldest son Vāsishka, followed by his younger brother Huvishka I. Huvishka I was succeeded by Vāsishka's eldest son Kanishka II to be followed by his younger brother Huvishka II. Huvishka II was succeeded by his nephew Vāsudeva, son of Kanishka II



and grandson of Vāsishka. However, Basham himself, while suggesting the above line of succession accommodating four generations within 98 years, admits that the second Huvishka on whom the whole scheme of succession depends is a shadowy figure about whose existence there is still doubt. However, the system of succession as suggested in the case of the Kushāṇas is probable, as we find it being actually followed by the Śāka rulers belonging to Chasṭāna's family ruling in Ujjain in the second and third centuries A.D.

### *King's Councillors*

The King used to reside in his capital. It seems, from the available evidences, the Kushāṇa capital, which had been originally at Bactra, was gradually shifted to Peshawar. Mathurā was most probably another capital of the Kushāṇas in India. Kanishka I's court adorned by Aśvaghoṣa, Māthara, Caraka, Pārśva and Vasumitra, gives us to understand how the privy councillors or the *Matishchivas* mentioned in the *Junāgaḍh* inscription of Rudradāman were intimately associated with the sovereign. We should take notice of the Greek engineer Agesilaos and Kanishka's chaplain Sangharaksha. Luder's Inscription Nos. 1190-93 mention Rāja Vaidya (Royal Physician) and Inscription No. 271 refers to Rāja Lipikāra (Royal Scribe). They were counted as court officials.

### *High Officials*

The Mānikialā Inscription<sup>19</sup> of the year 18 records the establishment of relics of Lord Buddha by Lala, a scion of the Kushāṇa family, described as "Daṇḍanāyaka". The Māt inscription<sup>20</sup> of the time of Huvishka records the repair of a tank and a Devakula by a Bakanapati, son of a "Mahādaṇḍanāyaka". The Mathurā stone slab inscrip-



tion<sup>21</sup> of the year 74 records dedication by the "Mahadaṇḍānyaka". The terms "Daṇḍanayaka" and "Mahadaṇḍānyaka" seem to have represented the two grades of officials in the Kushāṇa administrative machinery.

The Nāsik Buddhist Cave Inscription of the Lord of Navanara, Vāsithiputa Siri-Pulumāvi (Luder's List No. 1124) refers to the official designation "Mahāsenāpati". The Nāsik Buddhist cave inscription of the time of rājan Gotamiputa Sāmi-Siri Yaña Sātakani (Luder's List No. 1146) also mentions the official styled "Mahāsenāpati" (great general). The Mahāsenāpati had probably under him the subordinate officials like Senāpati (general), Gaulmika (commander of platoons), Ārakshādhikrita (guard) and Bhaṭamanushya (soldiers) who are mentioned in the Hirahadagalli copper-plate inscription of the Pallava dharma-mahārājādhirāja Sivaskandhavaraman (Luder's List No. 1200). According to Dr. H. C. Roychoudhuri,<sup>22</sup> the Mahāsenāpati, the Daṇḍānyaka and the Mahādaṇḍānyaka probably correspond to the Senāpati and Nāyaka of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Dr. U. N. Ghosal suggested that the term "Mahādaṇḍānyaka" means commander-in-chief.<sup>23</sup> While Prinsep<sup>24</sup> translated the word as 'administrator of punishment' or Magistrate, Fleet<sup>25</sup> took it in the sense of "the great leader of forces" and A. Stein<sup>26</sup> suggested its meaning as "the prefect of police".

An attempt may be made to find out the actual explanation of the official designations, Daṇḍānyaka and Mahādaṇḍānyaka. It is not at all unlikely that the Greek official designation "Strategos" (military governor) was translated into "Daṇḍānyaka" in the Kushāṇa times. Later on, the official designations found in the Kushāṇa records were adopted in the Northern as well as Southern India. The Nāgārjunikoṇḍā inscription<sup>27</sup> of the Ābhīra King Vasusena dated in the year 30 (probably of the Ābhīra era 248 A.D.) mentions an officer enjoying the designation Mahāgrāmika (officer in charge of a group



of villages), Mahātalavara and Mahadaṇḍanāyaka. In this record Mahādaṇḍanāyaka is found in charge of administrative duties in some territorial unit. But we find the designation "Daṇḍanāyaka-Balādhikṛita" in the Gunji inscription<sup>28</sup> of about the first century A.D., which implies military functions of the office. Again, the Koṇḍamudi (Madras Museum) copper plate and seal inscription<sup>29</sup> of king Jayavarman of the Brihatphalāyana gotra refers to the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka who prepared the plates recording the gift of a village by the King to eight Brāhmaṇas. This might have implied magisterial functions of the official in question. The mention of the Daṇḍanāyaka and Mahādaṇḍanāyaka in the medieval records of the Kannaḍa area suggests merely a rank in many cases. Often the Daṇḍanāyaka is the governor of a territory and the collector of particular taxes.<sup>30</sup> He is found to have enjoyed several other designations like Mahāsāmāntādhipati, Mahāpradhāna Senāpati or Senādhipati and Mahāsandhivigrahin.<sup>31</sup> A distinction is sometimes made between the Daṇḍanāyaka and the commander of the army, known as Senāpati.<sup>32</sup> Harishena, the author of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, is called Khādyatāpākika (superintendent of the royal kitchen), Sāndhivigrahika (Minister in charge of peace and war), Kumārāmātya (Amātya enjoying the status of a prince) and Mahādaṇḍanāyaka.<sup>33</sup> If the office of the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka meant that of the 'great commandant of the army', then it is likely that there was no clear-cut division between civil and military officials. Different designations may refer to different offices held at the same time or in different periods. Whatever that might be, in the Basarh seals<sup>34</sup> issued by Prince Govinda Gupta as viceroy under Chandra Gupta II we find the office of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka (Chief Justice) clearly distinguished from the Balādhikaraṇa (office of the Head of the Army) and Daṇḍapāśādhikaraṇa (office of the Chief of the Police). The trend towards separation of



powers and clear-cut division between civil and military officials is clearly discernible in the early medieval records of the Pālas, Chandra, Varman and Sena kings of Bengal.<sup>36</sup> The Judicial Department was probably put in charge of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka.

The above survey of the epigraphic records would make it evident that the official designations, Daṇḍanāyaka and Mahādaṇḍanāyaka were used in different contexts with varied nature of the official functions. The term Daṇḍanāyaka may have originated, if we judge by its derivative meaning, to represent official-in-charge of administration of punishment (Daṇḍa), held responsible for maintenance of law and order in the conquered territories. The official concerned was expected to bring under control the law and order situation by his command over "bala" or army. Without being equipped with military power it would be risky for the Kushāṇa officials to make an attempt to establish an undisturbed peace. Thus, the generals (Daṇḍanāyakas) and the great generals (Mahādaṇḍanāyaka) became entrusted with the task of governing different territorial units (Janapadas). It is reasonable to assume that those officials were later on, when military rule had succeeded in maintaining law and order, replaced by Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas. While in some cases, the Daṇḍanāyakas were retained in their position in order to help the newly appointed satraps, in other cases the Mahādaṇḍanāyakas themselves and their sons hereditarily took charge of administration of some Janapadas and vulnerable points. The Mānikīālā stone inscription of Kanishka I associates Daṇḍanāyaka Lala, a scion of the Kushāṇa family, with Kshatrapa Vespasi. The Māt inscription of the time of Huvishka introduces us to the lord of Wakhan (Bakanapati), son of a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka. We are also familiar with the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Valina, not directly concerned with governing of a particular territory, in the Mathurā stone inscription of the time of Vāsudeva.



A Mathurā inscription of Kanishka's fourth year refers to 'Mahādaṇḍanāyaka' Hummiyaka Caṇyakka, whose name was given to a Buddhist monastery.<sup>36</sup> Although their military duties were of primary importance, the officers sometimes associated themselves with non-military functions. "Daṇḍapāla" is referred to in the Mahāvastu Avadāna as one of the eighteen mahāmātras.<sup>37</sup> He may be equated with the Daṇḍanāyaka of the Kushāṇa records. From what has been discussed above it is not difficult to suggest functional associations of the Kushāṇa officers. The military position of the officers attached with them the responsibility of administration of punishment (or judicial administration) as well as police-administration. From the early Gupta records it is evident that an official used to discharge the functions of different officers, civil or military, at the same time or whenever he was called up to do so in different capacities. It seems reasonable to assume that the Daṇḍanāyakas and Mahādaṇḍanāyakas, the two grades of officials, discharged their functions as General, Judge or Police-Officer and sometimes as military governor.

It has been suggested that Daṇḍanāyakas were feudatory chiefs appointed by the Kushāṇa King and holding allegiance to him, who were required to render civil or military help.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps they used to live in the court of the king, discharging both civil and military functions of the State. In exchange of their services rendered, the officers were most probably granted an enjoyment of revenues collected from a particular territorial unit. The possibility of their salary being paid in each cannot be ruled out in view of the extensive Kushāṇa coinage. It seems, however, likely that the higher officials used to receive King's grant of fiefs, while the subordinate officers were paid in cash. It is but natural for the Kushāṇa kings to appoint their Śaka-Kushāṇa relatives as the official heads at the higher level. The names of Lala, Vālina, Hummiyaka in the Kushāṇa records indicate the state-policy with regard to the appointment of higher officials.



*Traditional list of State-Officials*

The recognition of eighteen officers and departments is traditional and appears to be of very early origin. Accordingly Nilakanṭha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata ( xii. 69. 52 ), eighteen functionaries known as Tirthas, are : Mantrin ( Councillor ), Purohita ( priest ), Yuvarājan ( crown-prince ), Camūpati ( Commander of the army ), Dvārapala ( Chamberlain ), Antarveśika ( Superintendent of the inner apartment ), Kārāgarādhikārin ( Overseer of prisons ), Dravyasamcayakrit ( Steward ), arthānām viniyōjaka ( Royal treasurer ), Pradeshtri ( Chief Magisterial Officer ), Nagarādhyaksha ( Overseer of the city ), Kāryanirmāna Krit ( Engineer ), Dharmādhyaksha ( Judge ), Sabhādhyaksha ( Overseer of the Assembly ), Daṇḍapāla ( Guardian of punishment ), Rāshṭrāntapāla ( protector of the frontiers ) and Aṭavipāla ( Guardian of the Forests ). The similar list of eighteen officials is also found in the Rāmāyaṇa ( ii. 100.36 ), Pañcatantra ( iii. 67-70 ), Raghuvamśa ( xvii. 68 ) and Śiśupālavadha ( xiv. 9 ). The list of officials found in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra ( I. xxi, p. 20 ) is following : Mantrin, Purohita, Senāpati, Yuvarājan, Dauvārika, Antarveśika, Prasāstri, Samāhartri, Sannidhātri, Pradeshtri, Nāyaka, Pauravyāvahārika, Karmāntika, Mantriparishadādhyaksha, Daṇḍapāla, Durgapāla, Antapāla, Aṭavika. The traditional list exhausts the whole sphere of work of a state and meets its indispensable requirements—providing for the deliberation of State-Questions ( Mantrin ) and assistance to the sovereign, both secular and spiritual ( Purohita ), for his personal safety and convenience ( Dauvārika, Antarveśika etc. ), for the administration of justice in the country ( Prasāstri, Pradeshtri, Pauravyāvahārika etc. ), for its internal peace ( Daṇḍapāla, Durgapāla etc. ) and external security ( Senāpati, Nāyaka, Antapāla etc. ) and for the supply of material needs of the people by the exploitation of its natural resources—by manufacture, commercial industries ( Karmāntika, Aṭavika etc. )<sup>39</sup>.



*Epigraphic evidences*

The epigraphic records of the early centuries of the Christian era, no doubt, give us an outline of the different departmental functions of the State. The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman mentions the Matī-Sachivas (counsellors) and Karmasachivas (executive officers). It is probably from among the Karmasachivas that different classes of civil officers had to be recruited. Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh record refers to 'Amātya' Suviśākha who was appointed by the king to rule the whole of Ānartta and Surāshṭra. A Nāsik Buddhist cave Inscription<sup>40</sup> refers to an official designation of 'bhāṇḍākārikaya' i.e. bhāṇḍāgārika which stands for treasurer. The Banavasi stone inscription of the time of rājan Hāritīputa Viṇhukada-Chuṭukulānanda-Sātakamni<sup>41</sup> mentions an 'amātya' who was the superintendent of works (Kamāntika i.e. Karmāntika). The Nāsik Buddhist Cave Inscription of Gautami-putra Śrī Śātkaṇi<sup>42</sup> records his order to an officer (amātya) with regard to a grant in a village, which was written by another officer (amātya) and kept by the 'mahāsāmiyas' (Record Keepers). The Mathurā stone inscription of the time of mahākshatrpa Soḍāśa<sup>43</sup> refers to a brahmin treasurer (gamjavara) appointed by the Śaka king. A study of the Śaka-Sātavāhana records would leave little doubt that 'amaccas' or 'amātyas' were the principal ministers of State, their position being comparable to that of the Karmasachivas. Those amātyas used to be appointed as governors, treasurers, superintendents and secretaries.<sup>44</sup> Among other officers mention may be made of makers of hydraulic engines (Audayantrika) referred to in the Nāsik Buddhist Cave Inscription of Mādharīputra Iśvarasena, the Ābhīra,<sup>45</sup> and the superintendent of water-houses (pāṇiyagharika) referred to in the Amarāvati Buddhist sculpture inscription of the time of rājan Siri-Sivamaka-Sada.<sup>46</sup> However, it is difficult to ascertain whether these epigraphic references may in any way compensate the



dearth of evidences for the Kushāṇa polity. It is natural that the Kushāṇas did not fail to learn the administrative procedure fruitfully followed by their contemporaries in South. Because, it cannot be said that they had no relations with the trans-Vindhyan region on political grounds. The Kushāṇa records discovered in Sāñchi may be of much significance in this connection.

### *Viceroyalty*

The evidence deduced from the Chinese texts shows that the Kushāṇa King used to appoint Viceroys whose position may have been distinguished from the provincial governors. The History of the Second Han Dynasty (Chapter 118) by Fan Ye informs us that "Yen Kao Chen (Or Wema Kadphises) conquered Tien-tchou (India) and there set up generals, who governed in the name of the Yue-chi."<sup>47</sup> Marshall thinks that Wema Kadphises set up "an army leader"<sup>48</sup>. H. C. Roychoudhuri accepts the singular number and thinks that the Kushāṇa king "established there a chief for governing it"<sup>49</sup>. The original text shows that the singular or plural may both be indicated, although Specht uses the plural "generals"<sup>50</sup>. Whatever that might be, there is little doubt that either one or more than one army chief was appointed to govern in the name of the Yue-chi. Those chiefs may have governed the newly annexed territories in India as viceroys or King's representatives. Powers were delegated to those chiefs who probably issued the coinage bearing the legend "Basileos Basileon Soter Megas". Although there is difference of opinion in regard to the Soter Megas problem, it is almost beyond doubt that coinages of Soter Megas and Wema Kadphises form an allied group suggesting their mutual nearness in point of time. The Soter Megas coins are found all over the Punjab, as well as in Kandahar and Kabul and as far eastward as Mathurā. On the basis



of numismatic evidences it is unreasonable to assume that the Soter Megas coins were put in circulation before the Kushāṇa conquest of India, although they may have inherited some Indo-Parthian features.

We further come to know from the Chinese texts quoted by Sylvan Levi that in 90 A.D. the King of the Yue-chi raised an army of 70,000 horsemen under the orders of the viceroy Sie to attack Pan-chao, who, however, succeeded in defeating him.<sup>51</sup> It is difficult to suggest the terms and conditions upon which the relationship between the viceroys and their Kushāṇa overlord rested. Prof. R. S. Sharma has attempted to utilise the evidence of the Jain text "*Kālakāchāryakathānaka*" to show that the position of the Kushāṇa overlords was like that of the Shāhānu-shāhis, while their viceroys were 'Shāhis' enjoying the status of feudatories (*Sāmantas*). To render military aid to the overlord was an important obligation of the Shāhi—this is evident from the Chinese text describing the war between the Chinese General Pan Chao and the Kushāṇa King.<sup>52</sup> But it is difficult to suggest the 'Shāhi' title for the viceroys; the rulers belonging to the Kanishka group themselves prefixed to their names a title "Shāhi"<sup>53</sup>. The designation "Shāhānushāhi" officially represented the Kushāṇas not earlier than the fourth century A.D. The official style of the Kushāṇa rulers, "*Rājatirāja*" found in their inscriptions and coins—should presuppose the existence of feudatories or 'sāmantas' under them, holding the title of 'Rājā' only. But the existing data do not mention the names of the lesser 'Rājās' or 'Shāhis'.

From the available evidences it seems that viceroyship was generally entrusted with the army leaders having command and control over the forces. We are reminded of the Daṇḍanāyakas and Mahādaṇḍanāyakas who played the most vital role in the Kushāṇa polity. Probably the viceroys enjoyed an independent status so far as the internal affairs of their own jurisdiction were concerned. It is not



unlikely that in the early stages of the Kushāṇa ascendancy in India, the viceroys were even allowed to issue their own coinage. There are indications in the Chinese texts that the viceroys used to be appointed in the territories lying at a far distance from the King's capital. The viceroy was given charge of the Indian territories, when the Kushāṇa capital had not yet been shifted permanently from Balkh to Peshawar. When Kanishka, King of Gandhāra, was ruling at Peshawar, his viceroy was stationed probably in a place wherefrom the Tsung-ling mountains could be approached by the army of the Yue-chi "by a long march".

### *Satrapal System*

The Perso-Hellenic system of government by Satraps and military governors was introduced in the Scythian period in several provinces of Northern Western and Southern India. In the North-West the Śakas and the Pahlavas had official called strategos (military governor) and meridarkh (governor of a provincial subdivision) dating from Greek times<sup>54</sup>. Under Śaka-Pahlava rule the provincial governor assumed the characteristic official style "Kshatrapa", 'a Sankritised form of Old Persian 'Kshatrapāvan' through Greek satrapes'. The higher official designation was 'Mahākshatrapa'. The numismatic evidences suggest that the Śaka-Pahlava sovereigns used to associate themselves with the provincial governors. Strategos Aspavarman is associated with Azes II and Gondopharnes on coins<sup>55</sup>. With the end of the reign of Maues (1-20 A.D.) there arose independent Kshatrapa dynasties. The reigning King took the title of 'mahākshatrapa', while his heir adopted the title 'Kshatrapa'. The legends on a series of Mathurā coins show mahākshatrapa Rajuvula ruling conjointly with his son Kshatrapa Sodāsa who later on became Mahākshatrapa<sup>56</sup>.

Under the Kushāṇas their provincial governors enjoyed the titles 'Kshatrapa' and 'Mahākshatrapa'. The Sārnāth



Buddhist image inscriptions of the year 3 of Kanishka I<sup>57</sup> records the dedication of the Bodhisattva-statue by Friar Bala along with Mahākshatrapa Karapallana and Kshatrapa Vanaspara at Benares. The two satraps ruled over the eastern most province of the Kushāṇa empire with their administrative headquarters at Banares. The first inscription containing the expression "Saha-Kshatrapena Vanasparena Kharapallānenaca" and the second inscription providing us with a slightly changed expression "Mahakshatrapena Kharapallānena, saha Kshatrapena Vanasparena" make an interesting study of the position of the Satraps. It seems the two provincial governors ruling conjointly enjoyed the equal status of 'Kshatrapa'. Afterwards, Kharapallāna was promoted to the Mahakshatrapaship, Vanaspara remaining a Kshatrapa. This was in keeping with the traditional satrapal system of government<sup>58</sup>. On their first recruitment, both of them were posted as Kshatrapas by the Central Government. Kharapallāna probably acquired, in no time, the Mahākshatrapaship by his seniority in age as well as administrative efficiency. It has been pointed out by Vogel that the image on which the inscription of Kanishka's year 3 is engraved shows the style of the Mathurā school of art and that the donors of the images had their home at Mathurā<sup>59</sup>. This suggestion has further led to the conclusion that Kharapallāna belonged to the house of Rajuvula and Soḍāsa during whose reign the Mathurā school of sculpture first flourished<sup>60</sup>. If it is accepted, it is likely that Kharapllāna acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kushāṇas in Mathurā and later on had to shift his seat of authority to Benares, by the order of the King. In that case, it may be assumed that the Kushāṇa rulers sometimes re-instated the Kshatrapas in their position as vanquished chiefs, although the general rule prevailing at the time encouraged direct appointment of the provincial governors<sup>61</sup>.

The Set-Māhet Stone Umbrella Staff Inscription and Set-Māhet Buddhist Image Inscription of the time of Kanishka



I<sup>62</sup> record the setting up of a Bodhisattva-image with an umbrella and a shaft at Śrāvastī by Friar Bala whose dedication of the Bodhisattva statue is also recorded in the Sārnāth Buddhist Image Inscriptions. In the Set-Māhet inscriptions is mentioned the name of Kanishka but the omission of the Kshatrapas' names is significant. It may be explained away by stating that the said Kshatrapas were not associated with the religious act of Bala at Śrāvastī as they had been at Benares. Assuming that the Kshatrapas were ruling in the eastern province, their names would not have been ignored in the Set-Māhet record if they had an independent or semi-independent status.

The Anyor (Mathurā) Bodhisattva Inscription<sup>63</sup>, recording the setting up of the image for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins, refers to Kshatrapa Upāsika Namida. After the overthrow of the Kshatrapa family of Mathurā at the advent of the Kushāṇas, the city probably became the headquarters of a satrapy under them. The findspots of a large number of records of the time of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva were lying in and around Mathurā. It probably indicates that Mathurā, a provincial headquarters, was gradually transformed into a regal seat of much importance.

Chuksha near Taxila probably formed a satrapy not only under the Śaka king Maues, as it is evident from the Taxila Copper plate inscription of the year 78 referring to Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka and his son Mahādānapati Paṭika<sup>64</sup>, but also under the Kushāṇas. The Kusuluka group was immediately succeeded by Zeionises, son of Kshatrapa Manigula and himself Kshatrapa of Chuksha, known to us not only from his coins but also from the Taxila silver Vase Inscription of the year 191<sup>65</sup>. It has been suggested that the successor of Zeionises was apparently Kuyula Kara<sup>66</sup>. However, the Mānikālā stone Inscription of the year 18 of Kanishka I refers to the Kshatrapa Vespasi and Daṇḍanāyaka Lala, a scion of the Kushāṇa race. The evidence suggests that Kshatrapa Vespasi, stationed at



Mānikialā in Rawalpindi district about A.D. 96, ruled over a province covering at least a part of Chuksha which, according to Marshall, lay along both banks of the Indus, comprising the Pashawar Valley on its west and most of the Hazara, Attock and Mianwali districts on the east.<sup>67</sup>

The Kshatrapa Liaka is mentioned in the Zeda Inscription of the year 11 of Kanishka, recording the gift of Hipea Dhia for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda<sup>68</sup>. Zeda is a village near and to the west of the Indus where in A.D. 89 was stationed Satrap Liaka probably having some relation with Paṭika, son of Liaka Kusuluka of the Taxila copper plate of the year 78. It is likely that the two satrapies were established on the eastern and western banks of the Indus. While Kshatrapa Vespasi ruled on the eastern bank of the Indus, Kshatrapa Liaka had his jurisdiction stretching on the western bank of the river.

The Bronze Casket Inscription from Mānikialā records the gift of the Kāpiśi Kshatrapa, the son of the Kshatrapa Graṇavhryaka<sup>69</sup>. Kāpiśi, identified with Begram where excavations have yielded a volume of Kushāṇa antiquities, was probably a provincial seat under a Kshatrapa whose name is unknown. The suggestion that Begram-Kāpiśi was the capital of the Kushāṇa state is hardly agreeable<sup>70</sup>. Kāpiśi is a place where, according to Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese hostages were kept by Kanishka<sup>71</sup>.

Kalhana's Rājatarāṅginī (Bk. I) refers to Hushkapura, Jushkapura and Kanishkapura, the three cities built by the Kushāṇa rulers in Kāshmir<sup>72</sup>. The importance of Kāshmir in Kushāṇa state cannot be overlooked. A satrapy was most probably formed by it. But the existing data do not furnish us with any evidence in this regard. The Sui Vihār Inscription<sup>73</sup> of Kanishka's year II records the raising of the staff by Friar Nāgadatta. It appears that there may have been a satrapy in Lower Sindh till it was conquered by Rudradāman. The Sāñchī Museum Inscription of the years 22 and 28 leave little doubt that the Kushāṇas



carved out a province in E. Malwa till it was conquered by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. The Kshatrapas, or feudatories ruling in Kāshmir, Sindhu and Eastern Malwa are not known to us from the available evidences. It has been surmised that Vāsishka was a viceroy in Malwa during the life-time of his father Kanishka I<sup>74</sup>. Again, it is suggested that Jushka mentioned in the Rājatarāṅginī may have been a viceroy in Kāshmir<sup>75</sup>. At any rate the practice appointing the scions of the royal family as provincial governors or viceroys was not unknown in the Kushāṇa times. This is borne out to some extent by the evidence of the Mānikīālā stone inscription of the year 18. It is suggested that Sindh and Baluchistan formed a satrapy where Yola Mira ruled as a local governor or chief under Kushāṇa overlordship. The name of the chief Yola Mira is known from fragmentary inscription in letters of the Kushāṇa period found on a few postsherds discovered at Tordher in the Thal Valley, District Lorlai, Baluchistan<sup>76</sup>.

The earlier Śaka rulers in Western India probably began to rule in the capacity of Satrapas owing allegiance to some overlords in the North. The earliest known Kshaharāta ruler Bhumaka is known as Kshatrapa whose coins have been found usually in the coastal region of Gujrat and Kathiwar and sometimes in Malwa. Bhumaka is not known to have used the title of 'Rājā' or 'Mahākshatrapa'. If it is accepted that the Kshaharātas had their home in Taxila and Mathurā and moved south under the pressure of the Parthians, it is likely that Bhumaka began to rule when in the North the power was being transferred from the Parthians to the Kushāṇas, that is, between A.D. 50 and 60<sup>77</sup>. We cannot trace Kushāṇa rule in the Lower Sindh region (Sui Vihar) before A.D. 89 and in Malwa (Sāñchī) before the beginning of the second Century A.D. It is likely that Bhumaka began to rule under the overlordship of some Parthian king and his successor Nahapana, Nambanus of the Periplus of the



Erythraean Sea, seems to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Kushāṇas but for a temporary period. A study of the Nāsik, Kārle and Junnār inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna<sup>78</sup> would show that he started his political career as "Rājā Kshaharāta Kshatrapa". But towards the latter part of the reign he assumed the titles of "Rājā Mahākshatrapa Svāmī" which indicate his independent status beyond doubt, although there is nothing in his records to show that he openly disavowed the allegiance to the Kushāṇas. In one of the Nāsik inscription<sup>79</sup> the Śaka Chief Rṣabhadatta refers to his overlord in the honorific expression "bhaṭṭāraka". Prof. D. C. Sircar suggests that the reference may be to the Kushāṇa overlord of his immediate liegeland Nahapāna rather than to Nahapāna himself<sup>80</sup>. If this suggestion is accepted, we find out a positive evidence of an official recognition to the Kushāṇa overlordship. The references to some coin denomination like 'Suvarṇa' or an expression like 'Kushāṇa-mula' in the Nāsik records of Nahapāna<sup>81</sup> as pointed out by Rapson and Bhandarkar, have hardly any bearing upon the Kshaharāta-Kushāṇa relations.

The exact number and character of satrapies under Kushāṇa rule is hardly known to us, although it is suggested by some that the empire was divided into five, perhaps seven satrapies<sup>82</sup>. It is difficult to ascertain how long the satrapies, known so far, functioned regularly. We get a vague idea about the character of provincial governments put in charge of the vanquished chiefs, the scions of the royal family, governors appointed directly by the Government or the tributary chiefs of semi-independent status. The Kushāṇa records, as we have shown above, give us an idea of the religious benefactions of the Kshatrapas but do not furnish us with any information regarding their administrative functions. However, it is not unreasonable to assume that the provinces were called upon, after defraying the royal taxes, to support the satrap, his court



and army as in the Achaemenian times.<sup>83</sup> Probably there was no fixed salary for the officials who enjoyed the revenue of the Janapadas under their rule after paying off the royal dues. The designation of "grāmasvāmī" (lord of the villages) of a Kshatrapa in a Peshawar inscription<sup>84</sup> probably indicates that the officer acted as an intermediary between the village-headman on the one hand and the king on the other, realising royal dues from the villages.<sup>85</sup>

In the Achaemenian times arrangements were made to put checks on the growing power of the satraps. To prevent the concentration of power, a Satrap, a General and a Secretary of State were appointed in each province, the official being independent of each other and responsible directly to the Emperor.<sup>86</sup> Under the Scythian ruler Maues, we find Chuksha, one of the provinces being ruled over by two governors jointly, namely, Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka and mahādānapati Paṭika. The practice of dual governorship in a province was not introduced by the Kushāṇas as it has been suggested.<sup>87</sup> The Mānikialā stone inscription of the year 18 refers to Kshatrapa Vespasi in association with Daṇḍanāyaka Lala, a scion of the royal family and shows how the Kushāṇa rulers were anxious to prevent concentration of power in the hands of the Satraps. Besides, so long as capable monarchs like Kanishka and Huvishka reigned, the satraps were careful not to exceed the customary limits and were forced to be zealous in maintaining order.

#### *Administrative Divisions*

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta<sup>88</sup> indicates in the expression "Sva-vishaya-bhukti-śāsana-yācana" that the dominions of the "Daivaputra Shāhi-shāhānushāhis" or the Kushāṇa rulers were divided into "bhuktis" and "vishayas". The prevalence of bhukti in pre-Gupta times is not corroborated by any source, and



hence may have been a projection of Gupta administrative divisions into Kushāṇa times. The prevalence of 'vishaya' units in the post-Maurya period is corroborated by the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣottamasūtra*, a Buddhist Mahāyānist text of the early century of the Christian era, which, while defining a devaputra, refers to kings ruling in Vishayas (rājāno bhavanti vishayeshu ca).<sup>89</sup> The Sārnāth Buddhist image inscription in Luder's List (No. 929 n) records gift of the devout lay-worshipper, the chief of the district (Vishyapati) Suyātra. Apparently, the Vishaya was governed by the Vishyapati. "Vishaya", was a term synonymous with Deśa, Rāshṭra, Āhāra or Janapada, most of them being referred to in early South Indian Brāhmī inscriptions.<sup>90</sup> In view of the available evidences, we have reasons to believe that the satrapies as well as the kingdoms outside the Śaka-Kushāṇa empire were divided into districts. The division called 'Bhukti' is found in the Gupta epigraphic records, mostly land-grants. But we cannot trace it the records of the post-Maurya period, mostly votive or dedicative in nature. No 'meridarch' or 'vishyapati' can be traced in the Kushāṇa records.

### *City Administration*

The King or his provincial governors resided in cities called Nagara or Nagarī which served as administrative headquarters called Adhishṭhāna. Archaeological evidences indicate the existence of numerous cities and towns in the Kushāṇa state, like Bactra, Peshawar, Begram, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī, Benares and Sāñchī. The cities flourished primarily out of a military necessity. To consolidate conquests it was incumbent to build fortified outposts at important strategic points linking together the military roads maintained by the state. In the *Arthaśāstra*<sup>91</sup> a city appears with the appellation of 'durga' fortified with strong defence. It was like a military encampment. The



Nāgaraka ( Mayor ) was to look after the affairs of the capital or the big cities ( Bk. II, Ch. 36 ). Manu ( VII. 121 ) and Bhishma ( Śāntiparvan, 87.10 ) also provide for the appointment in each city of a high officer, who was to superintend all matters affecting the city and had ample powers of restraint and coercion. The Bharaut Buddhist coping stone inscription ( Luder's List No. 705 ) refers to a town called "Nigama". The Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna<sup>92</sup> refers to the 'Nigama-sabhā' which probably represents the municipal corporation. The Udaygiri Cave ( Bāghgumphā ) inscription ( Luder's List No. 1351 ) refers to the town judge, 'nagararkhadamsa'.

Representation of city-goddesses is found on the coins of the Greeks and Scythians. The city of Pushkalāvati is found on the coins of Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenus, Maues, Azes, Azilises and Zeionises. The city of Nicaea is represented on the coins of Eucratides and Menander. Pallas Athene is shown on the coins of Demetrius. Zeus, the city god of Kāpiśi, is found on the coins of Eucratides. But the Kushāṇas did not follow their Graeco-Scythian predecessors in this regard. City-deities are conspicuous by their absence on the Kushāṇa coinage. This fact has been taken into account by some to suggest that the cities in the Kushāṇa times lost their local autonomy.

It may be pointed out that four sealings bearing the legend 'nigama' or 'nigamasa' in Kushāṇa characters have been found at Bhiṭā near Allahabad.<sup>93</sup> These sealings were issued by the municipal corporation. The evidence from the said data may have bearing upon the position of some self-governed cities in the Kushāṇa polity. In Pāli literature Nigama is distinguished from Nagara as well as grāma. Manu ( VII. 121 ) has prescribed for appointment, in every town, of a superintendent of all affairs ( Sarvārth-cintaka ), elevated in rank, formidable, resembling a planet among stars.



*Village Administration*

According to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Bk. II, Ch. 1) the whole Janapada was divided into four convenient parts, the "Sthānīya" of 800 villages, "dronamukha" of 400 villages, "Kharvaṭika" of 200 villages and "Saṅgrahana" of 10 villages. These divisions were different stations where government officials were posted for purposes of police and revenue administration.<sup>94</sup> An official named 'gopa' was appointed by the Central Government over a small area ranging from five to ten villages (Kauṭilya, Bk. II, Ch. 35). He was primarily a revenue official. The Central Government appointed as many as three Commissioners in the headquarters of the rural areas in order to keep watch over the revenue officials. The supervision of the affairs of a single village was the responsibility of the 'grāmika' or village-headman, as it appears from the Arthaśāstra (Bk. III, Ch. 10).

The Post-Mauryan records refer to not only 'grāma'<sup>95</sup>, the smallest administrative unit, but also 'Grāmāhāra'<sup>96</sup> or a group of villages. The affairs of a village were controlled by officers styled "grāmeyakaāyutta" (village authorities)<sup>97</sup>, "Grāmaṇi" (village-headman)<sup>98</sup> or "Grāmika" (village-headman)<sup>99</sup> and probably "Grāmābhojaka" (free-holders of villages).<sup>100</sup> "Grāmaṇi" is referred to in the Vedic literature<sup>101</sup>, while, "grāmika" is mentioned in the Arthaśāstra (III. 10) and the Manu-Saṁhitā (VII. 115-116).

In the Kushāṇa state "Grāmika" was in charge of administration of a village. A Mathurā Jain inscription of the year 40 (?) records the dedication of the image by the mother of Sinhadatta, first wife of the village-headman (grāmika) Jayanāga, daughter-in-law of the village headman (grāmika) Jayadeva (Luder's List No. 48). The Mathurā Jain image inscription of the time of mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Shāhi Vāsudeva, dated in the year 84, records the setting up of the image by the wife of a village-



headman ( grāmika ) ( Luder's List No. 69a ). These records make it evident that the official designation "grāmika" was in vogue and the position of the village-official was recognised in the Kushāṇa times. Further it may be assumed that the post of "Grāmika" was generally hereditary. The Central Government had normally no interference with regard to the appointment of these village-officials. The state-control over the affairs of the villages had been rigid in the Mauryan times. But it seems to have slackened under the Kushāṇa rule.

Manu closely follows Kauṭilya in recommending organisation of village-administration. It is said in the Manu-Saṁhitā ( VII. 114-117 ) that the King should place a company of soldiers ( Gulma ) commanded ( by a trusty officer ) in the midst of two, three, five or hundreds of villages, ( to be ) a protection of kingdom ( rāshṭrasya saṁgrahani ). Appointment is to be made of a lord over ( each ) village ( grāmasya adhipati ), as well as of lords ( grāmapati ) of ten, twenty, a hundred and a thousand villages. The lord of village ( grāmika ) has to inform the lord of ten villages of the crimes committed in his villages ( grāme doshān samutpannān ), and the ruler of ten should make his report to the ruler of twenty. The ruler of twenty has to report all such matters to the lord of a hundred who, again, is responsible for informing the lord of a thousand. The statements made by Manu suggest that the headman of a village may have reported, if at all necessary, the troubles, disturbances or more probably judicial disputes to the higher official. But, it is implied, that the headman himself was responsible for maintenance of law and order in his own village. Secondly, the King's order with regard to appointment of village headman, as hinted at by Manu, was, in reality, an approval in case a grāmika succeeded his predecessor and father. Thirdly, the stationing of military cantonment ( gulmas ) in convenient parts of the state obviously depending on the extent of the "Rāshṭra",



does not suggest that the village headman was not trusted with the defence of the village.<sup>102</sup> As it has already been pointed out above, in order to consolidate conquest or to put down rebellions it was incumbent to build fortified outposts (durga) at strategic points linking together the routes meant for the movement of the army.

The "grāmika", in Kushāṇa times, was primarily a revenue official. It has been indicated by Manu (VII. 118-119) that the village headman, the lords of ten, twenty, a hundred and a thousand villages, used to enjoy as their emoluments a share of the royal revenue for the collection of which they were held responsible. It is said that "the headman of a village (grāmika) should obtain those articles which the villagers have to furnish everyday to the king (rājapradeyāni) viz. food, drink, fuel and the like. The officer over ten villages should enjoy one Kula (as much land as suffices for one family, or land cultivable by two ploughs),<sup>103</sup> that over twenty villages should enjoy five Kulas, the superintendent of a hundred of villages should receive the revenue of one village and the high officer over a thousand villages should enjoy the revenue of a town". According to the commentator Medhātithi, all this is only approximate and recommendatory and was not literally followed.<sup>104</sup> However, what is meant by Manu's recommendation is that an emolument commensurate with the position and responsibilities of each officer should be received by him. A proto-feudal system has been found out by some in Manu's structure of revenue administration.<sup>104a</sup>

Although the 'grāmika' was in charge of local self-government in villages, Central Government did not lose its control over the village-affairs and the activities of the village officials. Manu (VII. 120-122) recommends that a minister (sachiva), specially appointed for the purpose, should inspect the affairs of the officials, which are connected with their villages and their separate business. A



Superintendent of all affairs ( sarvārthacintaka ), appointed in each town, is enjoined to visit by turns all the village-officials, explore their behaviour properly in their districts through spies for each, lest they should prove tyrannical or harass the people with unjust taxes. If the state of affairs reflected in the Manu-Saṁhitā existed in the Kushāṇa times, it is likely that the Kushāṇa rulers adopted every conceivable measure to avoid any loss of revenue to State, in spite of due allowances made for traditional self-governing status of the villages.

### *Public Finance*

Kauṭilya ( II.8 ) states that all undertakings depend upon the financial position ( Kośa ) of the state and there the government ( represented by the king ) must pay the first attention to Kośa. In the Śāntiparvan ( 119.16 ) of the Mahābhārata the king is called upon to guard his finances with great effort, since kings depend upon Kośa which tends to the prosperity of the kingdom. According to Manu ( VII.65 ) the kośa and the government of the realm should be the personal concern of the King. Yājñavalkya ( I. 327-328 ) recommends that the king should personally look into the income and expenditure. The Mahāvastu ( I. 271-282 ) exhorts the king to be awake in taking care of his treasury and to weigh in his mind as to how to augment his own resources.

### *Land System*

We possess very little information about the land system under the Śakas and Kushāṇas, especially under the latter. But in order to appreciate the basis of royal taxation it is necessary to consider the king's position in relation to land. For this we have to depend upon contemporary religious and legal texts as well as inscriptions. The state



control over all sectors established by the Mauryas did not continue in the post-Maurya times. Individual holding and enjoyment of land is attested by the evidences at our disposal. The *Milindapañha* (Trenckner's ed., p. 213) refers to the individual who clears the forest and takes other steps for making the land fit for cultivation. And because he brings the land under use, he is called the owner of the land. According to Manu, a field belongs to him who first removed the weed and the deer belongs to him who first wounded it (IX.44). The *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell's ed., p. 463) refers to individual farmers in large number working hard and engaged in cultivation. Coming to the epigraphic evidence, the Kānheri Buddhist Cave inscriptions attest to the fact that the subjects of the Sātavāhana rulers enjoyed individual ownership of land for the merchants and other lay worshippers could freely dispose of their land to Buddhist monks.<sup>105</sup> An inscription from Nāsik records the gift of a field by one Mugu-dāsa.<sup>106</sup> Another epigraph<sup>107</sup> from Nāsik mentions a gift of land by Ushavadāta who had bought the same from a brāhmaṇa. The Junnār inscriptions<sup>108</sup> supply significant instances of private transfer of land and of the gift of small units of agricultural land, occupied by private individuals.

All these, however, need not be taken to mean that the state-ownership of land had become obsolete. Although in post-Maurya times some sort of political disintegration had set in, the institution of kingship came to be divinised. Not only did the Kushāṇa rulers assume the title "deva-putra" but also the political theorists like Manu (VII.7) and Bhīṣma (Śāntiparvan, Ch. 59) helped in divinisation of kingship. It is likely that an unquestioned authority of the king based upon his divinity made the scope of prevalence of full-fledged private ownership limited.<sup>109</sup> The writings of the period substantiate the king's right over land. The *Milindapañha* (p. 359) clearly recognizes



king's ownership over all the towns, seaports, mines etc. which are situated on the earth. Manu ( VIII.39 ) says in unambiguous terms that the king is entitled to his share of treasure and minerals, because he is the lord of all. In the Divyāvadāna ( pp. 562-63 ) the king is admonished by his ministers thus: "the kingdoms being protected yield taxes and revenues". A similar view is embodied in the Mahāvastu ( I. 271-282 ) where the king enjoined to protect his own dominions of both towns and countryside ( paurajānapadaṃ rāshṭraṃ ) and make his realm prosperous ( riddha ), developed ( sphīta ) and populous ( janākula ) by arranging rightly for the protection of his people through righteousness. That the state effectively exercised its rights of ownership can be shown by the grants of land made by the Sātavāhana rulers to the brahmin priests as well as Buddhist monks, recorded in the Nānāghat Cave Inscriptions ( 1. 11 ), Nāsik Cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's 18th year ( 1. 2-3 ), Nāsik Cave inscription of his 24th year ( 1.3 ) and Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi ( 1.3 ). The legal texts of Vāsishṭha ( XIX.1 ) and Manu ( VIII. 307; VII. 2,35 ) often look upon taxes as king's wages for the service of protection.

### *Revenue Policy*

It has been observed by Kosambi<sup>110</sup> that the plough-using village dominated the economy of the two great river basins of North India conquered by foreigners, that is, the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas and Kushāṇas, who successively ruled and 'mainly looted the surplus gathered under the preceding rulers', namely, the Mauryas. The Yuga Purāṇa, of course, states that the Śakas will be avaricious ( arthalubdhāśca te sarve bhaviṣhyanti mahābalā, p. 37, 1. 135 ). That financial oppression of the subjects was not unlikely can be guessed from a story of the Divyāvadāna



( pp. 562-563), in which two evil ministers advise the king in the following strain : "Seasamum, O Lord ! does not yield oil unless it is made to dry, torn to pieces, oppressed and pressed ; so also, O King, is the kingdom". But some post-Maurya records suggest that normally the rulers, both indigenous and foreign, followed the precepts of the law-givers. According to Kautilya ( V.2 ) the king should endeavour to gather the revenue from his subjects in the same way as the fruits of a garden are gathered as often as they become ripe. Just as the gardener would abandon the unripe fruits lest their source should be disturbed, so also the State should abandon the unripe sources of the kingdom lest they should cause anger to the people. Manu ( VII. 139 ) required that the king should not, through greed, tax the subject heavily, as he would thereby cut off the roots of the people. It is laid down in the Manu-Smriti ( VII.80 ) that taxes should be realised in accordance with the Śāstra, which fixes the rates of taxes according to the commodity and according as the times were normal or there was an apprehension of an impending calamity.<sup>111</sup> In one of the Nāsik Cave Inscriptions, it is said that Gautamīputra Śātakarni ( A.D. 106-130 ) never levied taxes but in conformity with dharma ( dhamopajita-karavinīyoga-karasa )<sup>112</sup>. The Junāgaḍh inscription of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman ( A.D. 150 ) testified to the fact that the Śaka king built the dam of the Sudarśana lake without oppressing the inhabitants of towns and country by taxes ( kara ), forced labour ( viṣṭi ) and benevolence ( praṇaya-kriyā ) and by spending a vast amount of money from his own treasury ( apīdayitvā Kara-viṣṭi-praṇaya-kriyābhiḥ pau-rajānapadam janam Svasmāt Kośā mahatā dhanaughena anatimahatā ca kālena..... ).<sup>113</sup> The principles of taxes enunciated by the law-givers were thus generally followed, although it is not unlikely that, taking an opportunity of the weakness of the central authority, the revenue officials, posted in different parts of the state, may have been tyrannical.



nising over the people. That indicates the impending fall of the government. The Kushāṇa rulers who were mainly inclined towards Buddhism Indianised themselves to a great extent and perhaps did not always "loot the surplus" by violating the Śāstric injunctions. The duration of Kushāṇa rule would have been shorter by rise of the indigenous republics and monarchies at least a century earlier, if they failed to follow the law of the land.

### *Sources of Revenue*

The main items of revenue, in the post-Maurya times, appear to have been Bhāga, Bali and Śulka, which are not included in the list of oppressive taxes referred to in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. Bhāga seems to have been customary royal share of the agriculture produce amounting to one-sixth (śaḍhāga), the rate often mentioned by Kauṭilya (II. 6, 15) as well as Manu (VII.308). The Milindapañha (1.146) mention Bali as an emergency tax. But the view is not corroborated by the Junāgaḍh record. Aśvaghosa<sup>114</sup> mentions Bali in the sense of regular tax. It seems to have been an annual contribution to the central exchequer (Manu, VII. 80). It was probably different from "Shaḍbhāga". "Kara" appears to have been an oppressive impost and therefore over and above the general tax, although Aśvaghosa<sup>115</sup> takes the term in the broad sense of taxes. "Visṭi" (forced labour) was the manual labour for the state given by the labourers, artisans and dāsas, instead of paying taxes.<sup>116</sup> Although it has been marked as an oppressive tax in the Junāgaḍh inscription, it appears to have been levied occasionally by the State upon the Śūdras, craftsmen and artisans.<sup>117</sup> It seems likely that the Kushāṇas, who had built so many stūpas and monasteries, may have sometimes requisitioned forced labour in lieu of regular taxes. It can be inferred from an epigraphic record that corvée was demanded for hydraulic



constructions carried out by the State.<sup>118</sup> According to Kauṭilya ( V. 2 ), an important measure to replenish a depleted treasury is to levy benevolences ( *praṇaya* ) from the people, which, however, should not be resorted to more than once. Manu ( X. 118 ) indicates that the king is realising one-fourth of the produce during financial embarrasments, instead of the usual one-sixth. As Rudradāman, the Śaka king of Western India, did not feel any financial embarrasment, he considered the levy of *praṇaya* to be undesirable.

The Śaulkika, a revenue official, seems to have been known in the post-Maurya times. The term occurs in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya ( IV. 2.104 ) and the Divyāvadāna ( p. 277 ). The Milindapañna ( p. 365 ) speaks of an officer styled "śulkādhyaksha" an officer in charge of collection of 'Śulka', a commercial tax. It is stated in the Arthaśāstra ( II. 28 ) that the merchants should pay their share of śulka in accordance with the usage of the ports. According to Kauṭilya ( II. 22 ) śulka should be imposed on all types of merchandise, either coming from the country parts or manufactured inside the forts, or imported from foreign country. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea ( section 49 ) speaks of foreign merchants bringing very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, clothing of the finest weaves and the choicest ointments for Indian kings. But it is difficult to ascertain whether these offerings constituted any regular tax in the nature of duty. The Kushāṇas issued gold coins in large number. Roman gold which poured into India through trade and commerce had significant role in this connection. It is not known whether the Roman merchants using the trade-route running through the Kushāṇa territories upto Central Asia and China had to pay 'śulka' at a fixed rate regularly to the sovereign or whether the state-trading with the West fetched to the Kushāṇas a considerable amount of Roman gold. What-



ever might have been the case, the foreign merchants were to pay tax at a certain percentage of their profit on sale of the merchandise. The growth of mercantile capitalism in India in the early centuries of the Christian era, as it is evidenced by the *Milindapañha*, the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's *Geography* as well as hundreds of epigraphs recording gifts of merchants (Luders' List), probably contributed towards the prosperity of the Kushāṇa State.

### *Land-tenure*

The fiscal privileges of the brāhmaṇas who often enjoyed exemption from taxes are referred to by the law-givers (Vāśiṣṭha, VIII. 37; Manu, VIII. 407). The practice of giving land and money to the brāhmaṇas has been encouraged by Āpastamba (II. 10.26.1) and Gautama (X. 9) who belong to earlier period. The *Dīgha Nikāya* (I.87) also mentions "brahmadeya" lands which were not probably tax-free. Kauṭilya (II. 1-2) states that the king should make grants of brahmadeya lands, exempted from taxes and fines, to the sacrificial priest, the spiritual preceptor, the priest and those learned in the Vedas. The Kushāṇa rulers belonging to the family of Kanishka were enthusiastic champions of Buddhism, but they have left no records of land grants to Buddhist monks. The Sātavāhanas, although they were champions of Brahmanism, for the first time granted land to the Buddhist monks. It is learnt from the Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi<sup>119</sup> that he not only made grants of land to the monks but also gave up administrative and fiscal rights. Perhaps the Kushāṇas also made such grants, although they have not yet been discovered. The Mathurā stone inscription of Huvishka refers to two gifts to a hundred brahmins one of *Punyaśālā* and the other of 500 *Purāṇas*, according to the "akshayanīvi" system.<sup>120</sup> That is, the endowments were made on a permanent basis. On the



basis of this evidence, Prof. R. Sharma suggests that the grant of land according to "akshaynivi" tenure which was widely practised in the Gupta period, had already been introduced under the Kushāṇas during the early centuries of the Christian era.<sup>121</sup> If this suggestion is accepted, it is likely that the Kushāṇa rulers encouraged landgrants, with fiscal immunities, following the Kauṭilyan recommendations in this regard, to the brāhmaṇas as also to the Buddhist monks.

### *Functions of the State*

Public expenditure depended primarily on the various functions which the State imposed on itself. Like the Mauryan State, the Kushāṇa State also seems to have offered proper defence from internal dangers through an elaborate police system, and external dangers through the organisation of army. The Mahāvastu (I. 271-282) recommends that the king should protect his own dominion consisting of both towns and country-side and maintain them both and also his retinue by arranging for them easy availability of their essential requisites, so that his own people may be alienated from him by his enemies. In this direction the Kushāṇa rulers instituted an elaborate system of stationing "gulmas" or military cantonments in the midst of two, three five or hundreds of villages for the protection of the State (rāshṭrasya saṁgrahaṁ—Manu VII, 114). The daṇḍanāyakas and Mahādaṇḍanāyakas who are often mentioned in post-Mauryan epigraphs, especially the Kushāṇa records, seem to have been in charge of military, police and judicial administration. Like the Imperial Guptas, the Kushāṇas did not draw any line of demarcation between the military and civil establishments.

### *Maintenance of bureaucracy*

The Kushāṇa state had obviously to maintain the bureaucracy. In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (V.3) the salaries



of the officials range from 48000 to 60 paṇas. Ordinarily 'paṇa' and 'Kārshāpaṇa' (Manu VIII. 136) refer to copper coins. The law-book of Manu (VII. 115-120) provides for the assignment of land to revenue officials in charge of one, ten, twenty, a hundred, or a thousand villages. This piece of land was intended to be a minor part of the area to be placed under the charge of these officers, who were to enjoy its revenues for their upkeep. All other officers employed by the state seem to have been paid in cash. Manu (VII. 125-126) recommends a daily maintenance in proportion to the position and to work for women employed in the royal service and for menial servants. One paṇa must be given (daily), it has been said, as wages to the lowest, six to the highest, likewise clothing every six months and one droṇa of grain every month. Manu does not furnish any information with regard to salaries of high officials. However, the varied types of gold and copper coins having different denominations were issued by the Kushāṇa rulers. It is very likely that the system of payment of salaries in cash was practised in the Kushāṇa times.

#### *Protection of agriculture*

The State probably imposed upon itself the responsibility of extending protection to agriculture. Manu (IX. 291, 293) enjoins the king to punish people for theft of agricultural implements and provides mutilation for selling false seed corn, for taking up seed already sown, and for destroying boundary marks. We hear of the repair of the Sudarśana Lake for irrigation by Rudradāman from his Junāgaḍh record. The Zeda inscription of Kanishka's year 11 records the digging of a well and a water-giver, the Peshawar Museum Inscription No. 21 (Majumdar's List No. 55) records the digging of a well, the Shakardarra Inscription of the year 40 (Majumdar's



List No. 55 ) records the digging of a well, the Und Inscription of the year 61 ( Majumdar's List No. 92 ) records the digging of a well, the Tor Dherai Inscribed Postherds ( Luders' List No. 38 ) record the donation of a water-well, the Ārā Inscription of the year 41 refers to the digging of well, the Māt inscription of the time of Huvishka records the repair of a tank and a Devakula by a Bakanapati, and the Mathurā colossal seated Image Inscription of Kushāna-putra Vematakshama refers to the construction of a temple, a garden, a tank and well. These are evidences to show how at the initiative of individual citizens or in some cases, of administrative officers, arrangements were made for instituting permanent source of water-supply. Although majority of these tanks and wells were dedicated for religious purposes, the general pattern of irrigation seems to have been by wells, tanks, canals and rivers. We are not certain whether the digging of wells and the repair of tanks were done by some officials at the initiative of the State with the irrigation-purpose. Indirect evidence of the popularity of tanks in North Western India and U.P. is furnished by the practice of offering ritual tanks, which have been discovered at Taxila, Hastināpura, Udaipur, Ahicchatrā, Kauśāmbī and Bhitā, most of these belonging to the post-Maurya times.<sup>122</sup> The recent excavations of Professor S. P. Tolstov in Khorāsān have brought to light canals assignable to Kushāna times, that is, the first three centuries of the Christian era.<sup>123</sup> But archaeology relating to the Kushāna period in India does not know of any canals so far. Perhaps the Kushāna rulers generally did not bear the responsibility for irrigation. Manu ( VIII. 264 ) provides for the government protection of the house, tank, orchard, and fields of the individuals against seizure by others. It seems to suggest that some kind of individual ownership of irrigation-tanks, dams, reservoirs etc. which probably indicates that irrigation may have been to a certain extent an individual concern. Dion Chrysostom



( C.A.D. 50-117 ) informs us that in order to convey water from large and small rivers in India the local inhabitants made many channels.<sup>124</sup> However, irrigation being an individual concern, partly due to fragmentation of land in smaller plots, state did not intervene. But State, however, discharged the functions of protecting agrarian productive base.

*State control over trade and commerce*

Realising the importance of trade, the Kushāṇas paid special attention to developing trade-routes. Not only the large rivers like the Indus, Ganges and Yamunā but also even small navigable streams in the vast Kushāṇa empire were used as trade-routes.<sup>125</sup> It has been observed that the interests of traders, hailing from different countries were safeguarded.<sup>126</sup> They must have been assured of a large measure of security and protection in the Kushāṇa state. The Roman Emperors in view of their hostility with the Parthians, must have laid stress on friendly contracts with the Kushāṇas in order to maintain their control over Oriental trade and commerce.<sup>127</sup> The Kushāṇas modelled their gold coinage on the weight standard of the Roman aureus probably to serve the purpose of foreign trade.

Before levying tax upon the traders, State had to consider the rates of purchase and of sale, the length of the road, the expense for food, the charges of securing the goods etc.<sup>128</sup> Manu ( IX. 282, 285 ) has laid down for the protection of roads and fines of two Kārshāpaṇas and five hundred paṇas have been fixed for one who drops filth on the Royal road and who destroys a bridge respectively. As regards state-control over profits and prices in the market, we hear from Manu ( IX. 287 ) his prescription of the first amercement as the fine for the man who behaves dishonestly to honest customers or cheats in his prices. The rules for regulation of weights and measures are laid down in the Manusmriti ( VIII. 403 ) where the king is



ordained to examine the weights and measures at the end of each six months' period. The law-giver of the post-Maurya times Manu (IX. 286) has mentioned the first amercement as the fine for adulterating unadulterated commodities. Regulation of trade and commerce, no doubt, was one of the major functions of the State.

### *Exploitation of the economic resources*

The productive expenditure was incurred by the State in connection with exploitation of the forests, mines and treasure troves. Although the sources of our period are completely reticent about reserved forests mentioned in the Arthaśāstra (II. 3.17), it would be wrong to suppose that such forests altogether disappeared in post-Maurya times. So far as state-monopoly over mines is concerned, some inference may be drawn from the references in contemporary literature. A passage in the Śāntiparvan (69.29) enjoins that the king should employ officers for mines among other things. Manu (VII. 62) mentions the mines as a source of revenue for which trusted officials are to be employed by the king. When a brahmin finds a treasure, he is permitted by Manu (VIII. 37) to take the whole of it. It is further ordained by the same Smṛitikāra (VIII. 37) that when a king finds the treasure, he is to give one-half to the brāhmaṇas and send the other half to his own treasury. Obviously, some state-officials were employed to find out such treasure-troves.

### *Relation with Guilds*

The Kushāṇa state hardly exercised any control over arts and crafts which flourished in the post-Maurya period. The Milindapañha (p. 331) enumerates as many as seventy-five occupations, about sixty of which were connected with various kinds of crafts. The Mahāvastu (III. 442-43)



gives a list of thirty-six kinds of workers living in the town of Rājagṛha. Most of the trades and industries were organised through guilds which were self-governing bodies with minimum scope for state-intervention. Manu refers to Śreṇīdharmas or usages of guilds having the force of law. Nārada lays down that the king shall maintain the laws of the guilds.

#### *Currency system*

The Kushāṇa state took upon itself the task of regulating the currency by way of the weight of the pieces.<sup>129</sup> The Kushāṇa rulers have the credit of issuing systematic gold and copper coinage, though only a few silver pieces are also known. The gold dinār of the Kushāṇas is approximately of the same size and weight as the Roman gold aurei. The constant weight was maintained though the quality of gold was gradually debased. The gold coinage of three denominations,<sup>130</sup> double stater (248 grains), stater (124 grains) and quarter-stater (31 grains), were introduced in the time of Wema Kadphises. Kanishka retained only the stater-denomination. His successors reintroduced the quarter-stater and retained the stater denomination. The weight standard of the Kushāṇa copper coinage is not unrelated to the earlier patterns of the kings who ruled in North-Western India. There are not only didrachms of Persian standard weighing 160 grains, hemidrachms of the same standard weighing 40 grains and drachm of Indian standard weighing 58 grains, but also tetradrachms.<sup>131</sup> Copper tetradrachms in two series — one of the Attic standard and another of the Indian standard were issued. The unit of copper coinage in early India was called “paṇa” and, according to Manu, its weight was 146 grains, or 16 māshas of 5 ratis each. But Vasiṣṭha and Gautama refer to ‘paṇa’ of 20 māshas of 5 ratis each. But the standard of Manu did not pro-



ably supplant that of the earlier law-givers. Even Nārada refers to 'pañā' of 20 māshas. The Agni Purāṇa refers to a 'pañā' of 24 māshas. Several pieces of Kushāṇa copper coinage weigh from 240 to 260 grains, that is, about 26 to 28 māshas. If it is held that coins weighing about 260 grains represent 'pañas' of 28 māshas each, coins weighing about 130 grains and those weighing about 65 grains may be treated as one-half paṇas of 14 māshas each and one-fourth paṇas of 7 māshas each respectively. The economic life of India was, to a great extent, determined by the Kushāṇa coinage in the first three centuries of the Christian era.

### *Poor relief*

Organised poor relief was deemed one of the functions of the State. The Mathurā Brāhmī Inscription of Huvishka of the year 28 records a perpetual endowment of 1100 Purāṇas by Bakanapati and Kharasalera for feeding one hundred brahmins in the Puṇyaśālā and provisions to be kept at the entrance of the hall for the sake of the destitute people, the hungry and the thirsty (etaṁ anādhānām Kritena dātavya vabha kshitana pivasitanaṁ).<sup>132</sup>

### *Religious Institutions*

The state extended liberal patronage to the brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas and thus gave protection to the religious institutions. The Mathurā record of the time of Vāsishka, dated in the year 24, is inscribed on a Yūpa pillar recovered from Īśāpur. It refers to the performance of sacrificial rites in session for twelve days by Droṇala, son of Rudrila, a Brāhmīn of the Bharadvāja gotra. He was a Chhandogya Brahmin. The Māt inscription of the time of Huvishka refers to the entrusting of a devakula to Brahmins who were provided with a grant. The Divyāvadāna (p. 620)



mentions gifts to Brāhmins ( Brahmadeya ), while in the Mahāvastu ( II ) reference has been made to a Brahmin preceptor being invited for performing sacrifice. The Kushāṇa Kharoshthī records found at Taxila, Peshawar, Zeda and Kurram and Brāhmī records discovered at Sāhet-Māhet and Sārnāth refer to dedications for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins, while some records in Brāhmī found in Mathurā and the Kharoshthī record at Wardak refer to dedication of monasteries as well as images for the Mahāsāṃghikas. While Kanishka's name is associated with a Buddhist Vihāra built at Peshwar, Huvishka is well-known for the 'vihāras' built in Mathurā, Kāshmir and Afghanistan. The patronage to the Buddhist teachers and the setting up of monasteries in different parts of the empire not only served the cause of Buddhism but also provided scope for spread of education. The Buddhist monasteries were, in those days, centres of learning. The maintenance of the religious establishments obviously saddled the state with a heavy burden of expenditure.

Manu ( IX. 305 ) rightly compares the king taking taxes to 'the sun that produces vapour from the seas' in order to return it in the form of rain.

#### *Foreign Relations*

*China* : The Kushāṇas had political relations with China and Chinese Turkestan. The story of the travels of Chang-Kien who was sent by the Chinese Emperor Wu-ti ( B.C. 140-86 ) on a mission to the Yue-chi is recorded by his contemporary Ssu-ma-chian in Chapter 123 of his "Shi-Ki". Presumably, the Yue-chi had settled in the valley of the Oxus by B.C. 128, when the Chinese ambassador seems to have approached their chief with a request for military help against the Huna raids constantly disturbing the peace of China. It is recorded that the Yue-chi were no longer nomads, although they had been so previously.



Apparently, they were not at that moment in a position to extend the help sought for by the Chinese Emperor through his emissary.

Next we hear from Hiuen Tsang<sup>133</sup> that Kanishka, king of Gandhāra, kept order by military rule over a wide territory reaching to the east of the Tsung-ling mountain and a tributary state of China, to the west of the Yellow River through fear of the king's power sent him princes as hostages. The king treated these hostages with singular care and assigned separate establishments for them during summer and winter in different parts of his empire. A special house known as She Lok Vihar was built for them at Kāpiśi. The part of the Punjab where they were assigned land to settle down, came to be known as Cīna-bhukti. The Tibetan annals<sup>134</sup> informs us that Vijaykīrti, king of Khotan, allied himself with king Kanik of Guzan (Kanishka of the Kushāṇas) and helped him in his conquest of Eastern India as far as Soked (Sāketa).

Available evidences indicate unfriendly relations between China and the Kushāṇa state, extension of military rule of the Kushāṇas in the western part of the Tarim Valley and of the feudatory status of the Khotanese king under Kanishka.

The Annals of the Later Han Dynasty (Chapter 77) tells us that the Chinese General Panchao (73-102 A.D.) pushed on his conquest as far west as the confines of the Graeco-Roman world. The kings of Khotan and Kashgarh returned to obedience one after another. But the Yue-Chi did not renounce their previously established supremacy without a struggle. In A.D. 90 the Yue-Chi king demanded the hand of the Chinese princess which was refused and the envoy sent was arrested. The Yue-Chi king despatched a formidable army across the Tsung-ling to attack the Chinese. But the army under the command of the viceroy Sie suffered complete defeat inflicted by the Chinese forces under Panchao. The Yue-Chi king



became tributary to China. If it is held that Kanishka flourished at the end of the first century A.D., it is likely that it was he who had lost to the Chinese. The Kushāṇas lost their control over Chinese Turkestan.

The Kushāṇas became gradually weak after Vāsudeva I, the last king of the Imperial dynasty and, when they were faced with the challenge of the rising power of the Sassanians on the west, the threatening pressure of the Huns from the north and the growth of power of the indigenous kings, Vāsudeva II (Po-tiao) sent an embassy to China in 230 to ask for help from the Chinese Emperor.<sup>135</sup>

*Rome*: The Roman Emperor Augustus ascended the throne in 29 B.C. Many Indian states sent embassies to congratulate him, the most important of these being one sent by an important king called Porus.<sup>136</sup> The embassy sailed from Barygaza. It brought in its train a Buddhist monk, Zarmanochegas (Śramaṇachārya) and letter written in Greek, describing Porus as "lord over six hundred kings". Nicolaus of Damascus, met the party near Antioch. They had started from India about 25 B.C. and taken four years on the journey. H. G. Rawlinson<sup>137</sup> has put forward some arguments in favour of identifying the Indian king sending embassy to the court of Augustus with Kadphises I. Firstly, in the Punjab Greek was talked and the letter sent with the embassy was written in Greek. Secondly, Buddhism was the prevailing religion and the Buddhist monk is found to have been associated with the embassy. Thirdly, Barygaza where from the embassy started was likely to have been under the influence of the Kushāṇa king. Lastly, the Indian ruler described as "lord over six hundred kings" could be no other than Kadphises who had extended his dominions over many "Yavana, Śaka and Pahlava". But it is doubtful whether the first of the Kushāṇa monarchs became an Indian king by an extension of his domain over the Punjab by 25 B.C. The Later Han Annals tells us that one hundred years after the



settlement of the Yue-Chi in the Oxus Valley, Kujula Kadphises became king. The evidence may have been interpreted to show that the first Kushāna king attained the regal position by 25 B.C. But the Takht-i-Bahi inscription dated in the year 103 suggests that the advent of the Kushānas in the Punjab could not have been possible before A.D. 45. Therefore, the Indian king Porus who sent an embassy to Augustus' Court cannot be identified with Kadphises I. We find, of course, the bust of Augustus on same coins of Kujula Kadphises which probably proves the latter's junior contemporaneity with the former.

Roman Emperors, in view of their hostile relations with the Parthians, must have laid stress on friendly contacts with the Kushānas, in order to maintain their control over Oriental trade and commerce.<sup>138</sup> An almost constant rivalry between Rome and Parthia for suzerainty over Armenia is reflected in their struggle continuing with intervals, from the beginning of the first century A.D. to the first decade of the third century A.D. A Roman mercantile mission from Antioch or Alexandria reached the court of the Chinese monarch Huan-ti in 166 A.D. They represented that their master (that is, the Roman Emperor) had always desired to send embassies to China, but the Parthians had wished to carry on trade in Chinese silk, and for this reason they had been cut off from direct communication.<sup>139</sup> It is in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54) that an epoch-making discovery was made of the monsoon-winds by Hippalus in A.D. 45, which changed the whole aspect of sea-borne trade between Rome and India. The Kushāna king Wema Kadphises (A.D. 65-A.D. 78) introduced the gold coinage modelled on the weight-standard of the Roman aureus to serve the purpose of Western trade. The evidence of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* as also the Graeco-Roman wares brought to light by excavations at Begram and Taxila leave little doubt that the main trade-routes connecting Alexandria,



a trade emporium of the Roman Empire, with Central Asia and China lay through the Kushāṇa territories in West Punjab and Afghanistan. The available evidences indicate that economic considerations made real an alliance between Rome and India under the Kushāṇas.

Trade between India and Rome continued to thrive steadily in the first three centuries of the Christian era with a temporary lull in the reign of Nero. Roman Emperors took an increasing interest in Eastern Questions and the bounds of geographical knowledge were slowly extended. Dion Cassius ( LXVII. 28 ) tells us that Trajan ( A.D. 98-117 ), during his Parthian expedition, travelled to the mouth of the Euphrates and watched the ships spreading their sails for India. Shortly before A.D. 117 Roman troops under Trajan had beaten the might of Parthia and the victorious Emperor "dreamed of repeating Alexander's march to India, only to acquiesce in giving up the project on account of his age."<sup>140</sup> The Emperor pushed the Roman frontier to within six hundred miles of Indian territory lying on the eastern borders of the Parthian kingdom. Dion Cassius ( IX.58 ) informs us that Trajan entertained an Indian embassy regally, giving its members senators' seat at the theatre. Most probably the Kushāṇa emperor ruling at the time sent the embassy to congratulate the Roman emperor for his conquests in the Parthian kingdom. It may have been that the two emperors of the East and West extended their hands in friendship over the ruins of a Parthian kingdom which was a source of trouble to both. Scholars differ on the identification of the Kushāṇa monarch on chronological grounds. We regard an observation of Sten Konow, in this connection, as significant. He suggests that the Imperial Roman title "Caesar" occurring in the Ārā stone inscription of the year 41 presupposes that it was executed at a time when the Roman Empire was known in India as a powerful state.<sup>142</sup> Basham has rightly pointed out that the title "Caesar" was assumed by



Kanishka II, when peace had been established in Asia shortly after a successful exhibition of Roman military power on her soil.<sup>143</sup> We have to take into account two facts. Firstly, the honour received by the King's deputies or ambassadors at the Roman court, as stated in the account of Dion Cassius, is suggestive of an official recognition to the Kushāṇa King who may have sent them. Secondly, Hadrian, the successor of Trajan, maintained friendly relations with Asian countries and received messages of friendship from India and Bactrian kings.<sup>144</sup> It seems that it was mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kaisara Kanishka, son of Vāsishka and probably grandson of Kanishka I, who had sent diplomatic missions to the court of Roman Emperors Trajan and Hadrian (A.D. 117-38). The findspot of the Ārā Inscription suggest that Kanishka II was in charge of a Janapada bordering on Parthia.

We next hear of Indian ambassadors coming to pay homage to the virtues of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.)<sup>145</sup>

The friendly relations between Rome and Kushāṇa India is further indicated by the representation of the figure of Riom, an impersonation of the great city of Rome, on some gold coins of Huvishka.

*Persia*: From the Annals of the Later Han Dynasty (Ch. 118) we learn that the Kushāṇa King Kadphises I invaded Ngan-si which is generally identified with Parthia, "took possession of the territory of Kao-fu (Kabul), overcame Pu-ta and Ki-pin (Kashmir) and became completely master of these kingdoms."<sup>146</sup> In his expansion towards the West, he may have come into contact with the Parthians. It has been argued that Kujula's coinage seems to indicate that he seized the district of Merv from the Parthians, probably fixing the common frontier on the border of Hyrcania.<sup>147</sup> In A.D. 58 Hyrcania became independent of the Parthian kingdom and sent an embassy to Rome.<sup>148</sup> It has been suggested that by his annexation of Merv and a probable alliance with Hyrcania,



Kujula Kadphises controlled practically the whole of the navigable course of the Oxus and reached the Caspian Gates.<sup>149</sup>

Political contact between the Kushāṇa and Parthians is evidenced by numismatic affinities as exhibited in the type "king sacrificing at an altar", common to both. It was Wema Kadphises, the second Kushāṇa King, who had introduced this type on the Kushāṇa coinage. The type occurring on the coins of the Arsacid King Gotarzes (A.D. 40-51) and Volagases I (A.D. 55-63) is found to be a male figure standing to right and holding his right hand over an altar. It has been suggested that Wema Kadphises copied this type of his contemporary Parthian king to commemorate his victory over him.<sup>150</sup> The history of Parthia during the reign of Gotarzes, Volgases and his successors, is of internal feuds on the one hand and the struggle with Rome for Armenia on the other.<sup>151</sup> Wema Kadphises seems to have taken an opportunity of the weakness of the Parthians and captured Herat, Seistan and Arachosia.

Buddhist tradition mentions Kanishka's war against the Parthians.<sup>152</sup> Pacorus (A.D. 77-105), successor of Volagases, had the most disturbed reign. The Parthian Empire was divided between three or four monarchs, all of whom claimed to be the "king of kings".<sup>153</sup> It was an opportunity for Kanishka I to inflict a defeat upon some Parthian monarch and satisfied his ambition for conquest at the expense of the Parthians, although no territorial gain was aimed at.

The formation of the Kushāṇa Empire on their eastern borders was a constant menace to the Parthians. The ascendancy of the Kushāṇa state coincides with the decline of the Arsacids. On the one hand, the Parthians were exhausted by internecine wars and constant hostility with Rome over the Armenian question. On the other hand, the Kushāṇas not only posed a threat politically but



economically also they played the part of middlemen in commerce, diverting the merchandise to trade-routes that avoided Parthian territory.

The Sassanians,<sup>154</sup> who rose to power in A.D. 224 after the decline of the Arsacids, were fully alive to the danger on the eastern frontier. They waged war, with intermittent success, against the Kushāṇas and inflicted a severe blow to their power. The decline of the Kushāṇas became unavoidable due to the steadily growing military strength of the Sassanians. According to Tabarī, Ardashir, after conquering the country bordering on Khorasan, Merv, Balkh and Khiva, received messengers from the kings of Kuśān, Turān and Makran. Ferishta states that Ardashir marched against India and reached the neighbourhood of Sirhind. The Kabi-i-Zaradusht inscription includes parts of the Kushāṇa empire upto Peshawar in the dominions of Shāpur I. Excavations at Begram show that the city was sacked by Shāpur I in the period between A.D. 241 and 250. As the coins of Vāsudeva were the latest of the Kushāṇa remnants found at that place it may be inferred that Shāpur possibly conquered the region ruled over by the Later Kushāṇas, after the death of Vāsudeva II whose descendants had to acknowledge the overlordship of the Sassanian monarchs.<sup>155</sup> The Sassanian prince-governors put in charge of the newly annexed territories in North-Western Frontier Provinces of India issued coins, having on the reverse Śiva and Bull, the type that was prevalent in Bactria and Afghanistan under Vāsudeva II. The numismatic evidence may have bearing upon the date of the Sassanian conquests in the Kushanshr.

#### *Department of Foreign Affairs*

The survey of the foreign relations of the Kushāṇa government made above provides us with some functions of the Department of Foreign Affairs which were, no doubt,



discharged by the officials in charge of the Department. Diplomatic agents or ambassadors (Dūta) had the most vital role to play in maintaining foreign relations and in representing faithfully the views and opinions of their own government to foreign embassies as also to look after those princes who lived in the Kushāṇa court as hostages. The decision of declaring war or making peace was probably taken by the Kushāṇa King with the help of some officials who became known as Sāndhivigrahika in the Gupta records. The so-called Sāndhivigrahika of the Kushāṇa period had to discharge his duties, it may be reasonably assumed, in consultation with the commander-in-chief or Mahadaṇḍanāyaka. It is not unlikely that the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka himself had to officiate in the post of Minister-in-charge of War and Peace, as and when necessary.

#### *Military Organisation*

In the Mahāvastu (I. 271-282) there is a discussion on the five sources of the power which a king should desire to possess, namely, his brother (sahajaṃ balaṃ), his sons (putra balaṃ), his kinsmen and allies (jñātimitrabalaṃ), his four fold army (caturaṅga balaṃ) and his matchless wisdom (prajñā balaṃ). A king endowed with this five fold power can surely make his kingdom firm, prosperous, rich and populous.

Of all these powers, army was, no doubt, of the highest value in the Kushāṇa state. There is no denying the fact that the Kushāṇa kings followed an ambitious imperial policy, gradually expanding the boundaries of an Empire with the help of an well-equipped army. We have no adequate documentary evidences directly providing us with the information that the Kushāṇa army was fourfold in character. The soldiers were recruited originally from among the people belonging to the Yue-chi tribe. With



the expansion of Kushāṇa kingdom the army was formed by the recruits from the newly acquired territories. As the Annals of Later Han Dynasty tells us in connection with the war with the Chinese General Pan Chao, the viceroys or the provincial governors had to provide forces for the army, whenever they were asked by Central Government. The standing army of the State was under the command of Mahadaṇḍanayaka known to us from the Kushāṇa records whose position corresponds to that of Mahasenāpati.

The King was probably the supreme commander of his forces, as he is often found in military dress with weapons sometimes riding an elephant or a biga on the Kushāṇa coinage. Numismatic evidences suggest that the use of two humped camels, elephants and biga (chariot?) as conveyances was not unknown. It is not improbable that those conveyances were used also for purposes of war. That cavalry formed the most important part of the army is known to us from the statement in the Chinese text that the Yue-chi king despatched an army of seventy thousand horsemen, raised under the orders of the viceroy Sie, against the Chinese general Panchao. The weapons of war used by the Kushāṇas are known to us from their coinage. Those included conventional arms used in ancient times like club (gadā or tomara), spear (Śaṅku), sword (asi), battle-axe (paraśu), javelin (bhindipāla), trident (śūla) etc.

As we have already discussed elsewhere, the king spread out a net work of military cantonments all over his empire. Those cantonments (gulmas) under the command of trusty officers were planted in the midst of two, three, five or hundreds of villages. The army units thus stationed in strategic points of the state generally used to maintain internal law and order. The battalions placed in vulnerable areas or in frontiers of the state were probably in charge of resisting foreign invasions or disturbances created on the borders by the alien people. The Kushāṇa rulers largely depended on the military organi-



sation to maintain their hold on the conquered territories. At least with regard to Central Asia we learn from Hiuen Tsang's account that Kanishka "Kept order by military rule over a wide territory reaching to the east of the Tsung-ling".

The military organisation was the foundation of the Kushāṇa State. The Kushāṇa King Kadphises I established his supremacy over Bactria through tribal warfare. The annexation of new territories in and outside India was possible due to the super military power of the Kushāṇas which subdued the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Hindus. An order was kept by military rule over a wider territory stretching from Balkh to Bihar. Besides, the existence of the Kushāṇa State for about two centuries and half could not be maintained without a well-planned military organisation, when China, Parthia and Rome flourished as highly ambitious imperial powers. Inter-state relations were often determined more by military engagements than by peace-treaties.

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114. Buddhacarita II, 44 ; Saundarānandakāvya, II. 33.
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123. Rahula Sankritayana, History of Central Asia ( trans. ), I.
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125. R. Sankritayan, op.cit., p. 109.
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127. Wheeler, Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers, p. 157 ff.



128. Manu, VII, 127.
129. Cf. Manu, VIII. 403. Vaśishṭha, XIX. 13.
130. Whitehead, PMC I, pp. 183-184.
131. Ibid., p. 188 ff., Nos. 75, 97.
132. Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 146, lines 6-9.
133. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 50.
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137. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, pp. 107-9.
138. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 157 ff.
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140. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XI, p. 294.
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150. *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 109-112.
151. P. Sykes, *History of Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 376-379.
152. *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 382.
153. Sykes, *op.cit.*, p. 379.
154. Sykes, *op.cit.*, pp. 394 ff; Ghirshman, *op.cit.*, pp. 289 ff.
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## Chapter V

## STATE IN RELATION TO DHARMA

In Kauṭilya's political thought is found double attitude towards religion and morality. On the one hand, he has emphasised upon the importance of the Smṛiti scheme of duties of the castes and the orders as well as the King's obligation of enforcing the same.<sup>1</sup> He also asks the king to appoint a domestic chaplain and to follow his directions like a disciple following his master.<sup>2</sup> In Kauṭilya's scheme of state—planned colonization provision is made for the settlement of Brāhmaṇas on revenue-free lands and for the creation of forest-retreats for Vedic study and the performance of Soma sacrifices in the rural areas as well as for the construction of temples for Brahmanical deities in the capital town.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, in Kauṭilyan state religion has become an instrument of statecraft. In the interest of internal administration and foreign policy the king is exhorted to appoint the false hermit, ascetic and mendicant as spies in order to exploit popular superstitions in the interest of the State.<sup>4</sup> Again, in times financial emergency the superintendent of temples is asked to exploit popular superstitions for replenishing the treasury.<sup>5</sup>

In the *Manu-Saṁhitā*, Chapter VII, the opening verse is "Rājadharmān pravakṣyāmi yathāvritto bhaven-nripaḥ/ Sambhavaścha yathā 'tasya siddhiścha Paramā yathā//'" (I will declare the duties of Kings and show how a king should conduct himself, how he was created and how he can obtain the highest success). Commenting on this verse Medhātithi explains that "dharma" in the verse means "duties" (*dharmasābdaḥ kartavyatāvacaṇaḥ*), that the duties of the king are either "dṛṣṭārtha" (effect of which are wordly and visible) such as the employment of six forms of foreign policy (like



Sandhi, Vighraha etc.) and "adṛṣṭārtha" (having no visible effect) like offering to the sacred fire (agni-hotra) and that the former alone is dealt with here as being generally called "rājadhārma" (Tatreha prādhānyena dṛṣṭārtha upadiśyate / Tatraiva ca rājadharmaprasiddhiḥ).<sup>6</sup> The commentator further declares that the rules of rājanīti are not always based on the canonical works of dharmaśāstra but principally on the experience of world affairs dealt with in the Arthaśāstra. Thus, in the Arthaśāstra-Smṛiti concept of 'rājadhārma', polity is divorced from theology, although religious acts sanctioned by the Vedas are not excluded from the list of King's duties.

The poet Aśvaghosha in his "Buddhacharita" (IX. 12-49) has underlined the principle of antagonism between Politics and Ethics. After his renouncement of the world Prince Siddhārtha was approached by the royal chaplain with a request to change his resolution. Siddhārtha declined to go back by pointing out that the royalty involved the intoxication of power as well as obstruction of righteousness by causing the oppression of others. Aśvaghosha, in this context, emphasises upon the gulf separating the dharma of salvation with its emphasis upon quietude (sama) and the dharma of kings with its emphasis upon punishment (danḍa).

In the Śāntiparvan (XIII. 91.2) of the Mahābhārata the high significance of "dharma" in relation to the king and the community is hinted at. So long as the king steadfastly upholds "dharma", security of family, property and castes is ensured. Disregard of "dharma" leads not only to his ruin, but also to the complete insecurity of his subjects, their mental and moral decline, and above all, the overthrow of the social order based on "Varṇāśramadhārma". In explaining political righteousness it has been said (XII. 95) that the king should be compassionate and vigilant, should avoid deceit towards his own people, should not give way to anger and should not perform acts hated



by good men. These injunctions are quite in accord with those found in the Manu-Smṛiti ( VII. 14 ) where it is stated that for the King's sake, the Lord formerly created his own "daṇḍa", the protector of all creatures, the incarnate "dharma", formed of Brahmā's glory. It has been further said by Manu ( VIII.418 ) that the king should carefully compel the Vaiśyas and Śūdras to perform the work prescribed for them ; for, if these two castes swerved from their duties, they would throw the whole world into confusion. The privileged position of the Brāhmaṇas is uniformly upheld in the Smṛiti as in the Mahābhārata. Emphasising on righteousness of the temporal ruler, Manu ( VII. 26 ) exhorts that the king in order to be a just inflicter of "daṇḍa", should be truthful, should act after due consideration, should be wise, and should know the respective value of virtue, pleasure and wealth. In the Buddhist text Mahāvastu ( I. 274-82 ) the king is instructed to rule his kingdom with righteousness. It has been said that when the king rules unrighteously, his realm becomes weakened and rent on all sides, but when he rules righteously, it becomes strong, prosperous, flourishing and populous. Thus the political theorists belonging to both Brahmanical and Buddhist schools of thought have stressed on righteousness and justice. The views expressed by Bhīṣma, Manu and the author of the Mahāvastu show that Politics dissociated from individual and social Ethics leads to total annihilation.

Apparently we find out two contradictory views in the entire Arthaśāstra-Smṛiti thought. On the one hand, there is emphasis upon morality and inclination towards religious practices. On the other hand, on demand of "rājanīti" digression from the approved path of truthfulness and honesty is encouraged not only by Kauṭilya as shown above, but also in the Śāntiparvan ( XIII. 120.4-16 ) of the Mahābhārata. In fact, the king has been instructed to adopt a mixed policy of straightforwardness and deceit. It is to be



noted that while in the Brahmanical school of thought "rājadharmā" has been judged on this double-standard, the Buddhist canonists set absolute ethical standard which governs the conduct of the laity, whether king or commoner. Perhaps, the Brahmanical school of thought may be explained on the line of argument shown by Nīlakanṭha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata, who observes that the Kshatriya's duty (dharma) falls within the scope of the science dealing with the principle of action (pravṛtti-śāstra) and that it cannot compare as such with the Brāhmaṇa's duty inspired by the principle of renunciation (nivṛtti).

The Brahmanical and Buddhist texts, however, make it clear that the "rājadharmā" is to protect the "prajā-dharma" or "Sva-dharma" of different castes and orders of society.

#### *Religion—an instrument of statecraft*

The epigraphic, numismatic and literary records of the Kushāṇa age, overwhelmingly religious in character, help us in ascertaining the relation of the State to Dharma. It may be asked whether Dharma, in the sense of religion, was used by the Kushāṇa as an instrument of statecraft. The representation of the deities, Zoroastrian, Graeco-Roman, Hindu and Buddhist, on their coinage suggests an attitude of tolerance and respect shown by the Kushāṇa rulers to all religious beliefs of the conquered peoples. In the pacification of conquered peoples the king is asked by Kauṭilya (XIII. 5) to pay attention to their religious practices and susceptibilities, to show his devotion to their territorial and religious festivals and to worship the local gods. Following a policy of religious toleration to the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, Hindus and Buddhists, the Kushāṇas may have succeeded in consolidating their political position in India.



Kauṭilya ( XIII. 1 ) refers to ingenious devices for the propagation of the supernatural powers of the ruler and his close association with gods. The king, who desires to conquer, should impress upon the people of enemy's country his own divine character in order to win over their allegiance without difficulty. The Kushāṇa kings probably exploited the religious sentiments of the common people through the medium of exchange, showing often on the obverse the semi-divine representation of themselves. The figure of the Kushāṇa rulers are found to have been associated with divine symbols like nimbus, clouds and fire. Besides, the Kushāṇa monarchs introduced themselves as "devaputras" in twenty-one Brāhmī ( Luders' List ) and three Kharoshthī inscriptions ( Konow's List ).

The Varṇāśramadharmā is considered the foundation of the social structure in the Arthaśāstra ( I.3 ) and the king is exhorted to grant all sort of privileges to the Brāhmaṇas devoted to the study of the Vedas ( XIII.5). Although most of the Kushāṇa rulers were inclined towards Buddhism, they carefully maintained their liberal patronage to the Brahmins and the Vedic rites and rituals, as it is evidenced from some Mathurā records of the time of Vāsishka and Huvishka. While in Kauṭilyan state the upholding of the Brahmins' privileges was expected of a righteous king, in the Kushāṇa state the toleration and reverence shown towards Brahmanical religion and social order may have been a well-calculated measure adopted in the interest of internal administration.

Whatever that may be, unlike the Kauṭilyan State, the Kushāṇa state upheld the cause of both Hinduism and Buddhism. The Jain antiquities discovered in and around Mathurā leave no doubt that the religion of Mahāvīra also flourished in the Kushāṇa period. It appears that the Kushāṇa rulers were anxious to give protection to the "Prajādharmā" or the religious of the people, the dharma of the society or social Ethics, ensuring security to different



classes and orders. In that sense, the Kushāṇa rulers were politically righteous.

### *Personal religion of Kujula Kadphises*

The Kharoṣṭhī legends on Kujula Kadphises' coins suggest that the first Kushāṇa monarch assumed the epithets "dharmasthita" and "sachadhramasthita"<sup>8</sup>, the former being found on his "Bust of Hermaeus and Herakles" type and latter on "Diademend bust and Enthroned King" type. The Prākṛt terms have been sanskritised as "dharmasthita" or steadfast in the true religion. Mathurā Inscription<sup>9</sup> represents Huvishka as the grandson of a king who has the appellation "Sachadhramasthita".

The bull found on the obverse of "Bull and Bactrian Camel"<sup>10</sup> type of Kadphises I's coins is probably a theriomorphic representation of Śiva. It is noteworthy that the bull shown on coins is associated with the Nandipāda symbol. It seems that the "satyadharma" of Kadphises I is no other faith than Śaivism. Vincent Smith discovered the image of seated Buddha on one side and on the other a 'Śiva and bull design' on some specimens,<sup>11</sup> while on the other issues of the same type<sup>12</sup> he found seated Buddha and Zeus standing with long sceptre. On the basis of these Buddha specimens it has been suggested that the introduction of Buddha image does not begin from the reign of Kanishka, but goes back atleast to the coins of Kadphises I. If this suggestion is accepted, in that case it is likely that "satyadharma" of the first Kushāṇa King actually stood for "Satdharma" or Buddhism.

So far as the representation of Buddha on Kujula Kadphises' coins is concerned, the description given by V. Smith requires further examination. According to Smith, Buddha is found "seated cross-legged with right arm raised and left hand on hip". But the seated figure with raised arm represented on the reverse of the two specimens



of Smith closely follows the design on the obverse of the "King and Zeus" type of coins reproduced by Marshall.<sup>13</sup> According to Whitehead (P.M.C. I, p. 181) Buddha is found "seated in conventional attitude with uncertain object in right hand" on the obverse of the specimens, the reverse of which shows Zeus-design. But the conical knobbed cap found on the head of the so-called Buddha-figure is not the attribute of Buddha. Again, a weapon found in the raised right hand cannot be associated with Buddha. Dr. J. N. Banerjea's suggestion<sup>14</sup> that the figure is to be explained as that of Śiva is unacceptable. Marshall has rightly suggested that the figure must be that of a king seated cross-legged as it is found on the obverse of some coins of Azes I.<sup>15</sup> It seems rather unusual that the King should not be represented on any side of the coin. He should be placed either on the obverse or on the reverse. The representation of deities of both sides of a coin is rarely found in the numismatic usage of the Kushāṇas. Besides, tradition establishes Kanishka, and no other Kushāṇa monarch, as the patron of Buddhism.

#### *Personal religion of Wema Kadphises*

The 'Śiva and bull' design found by V. Smith on a few specimens of Kadaphes may have been inherited by Wema Kadphises. The Kharoshthī legends found on the coins of the second Kushāṇa monarch read as "maharajaasa rajadirajasa sarva-logaiśvarasa mahiśvarasa Hima Katphisasa tradata"<sup>16</sup>, that is, in Sanskrit, mahārājasya rājātirājasya sarvalokeśvarasya Māheśvarasya Vima Katphisasya tratuḥ, which means (Coin) of the great king, king of kings, lord of the worlds, devotee of Maheśvara, Wema Kadphises, the defender!

The epithet "Māheśvara" signifies Kadphises II's inclination towards the Śiva-Bhāgavata faith. The Sanskritised form of "Mahiśvara" is apparently "Mahiśvara". But



the epithet "Mahīśvara", if accepted, seems to be redundant in view of the preceding epithet "Sarvalokeśvara". Therefore, "Māheśvara" seems to be more reasonable Sanskritised form of "Mahīśvara" bearing on the personal religious faith of the Kushāṇa monarch.

The coin devices confirm the meaning of the epithet "Māheśvara". Śiva has been used as a common reverse-device of Kadphises II's coins with the exception of only a single type of coins where is shown the Śaivite emblem "Trident-Battle-axe"<sup>17</sup>. This symbol is sometimes found by the side of the king sacrificing at an altar on the obverse.<sup>18</sup> On some coins the king's head is surmounted by a trident.<sup>18</sup> Śiva generally appears on the reverse of coins along with his mount bull with some exceptions. The divine features like nimbus or prabhāmaṇḍala and fire are often found with the figure of the deity. Attributes like trident drapery, trident-battle axe and tiger's skin, or trident and water pot with tiger's skin are held in the two hands of the deity.

*Saivism*: Tarn<sup>20</sup> thinks that the figure of Śiva does not appear in human form on coins until the time of the Kushāṇas. But Śiva is found on the coins of Gondophares<sup>21</sup> who flourished in North-Western India in the first half of the first century A.D. The deity also appears on the coins of Maues,<sup>22</sup> the earliest Scythian king ruling in Taxila region about the beginning of the first century A.D. Patañjali, who is definitely known to have flourished in the first half of the second century, refers to the Śiva-bhāgavatas, a Śaiva sect, in his commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtra V. 2,76. In his comment on Pāṇini's Sūtra V. 3,99. Patañjali mentions a few of the gods, namely, Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha whose images were being made for worship at his time. The Śiva-pura or Śaivapura, of which Śiva was the tutelary deity according to the Mahāmāyārī text, is referred to by Patañjali in his commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtra IV. 2,104 as "Udichyagrāma" or northern village.<sup>23</sup>



Probably it was situated somewhere in the Punjab where lived the Sībae tribe of the Classical writers or the Śibis of Indian literature, near the confluence of the Jhelum and the Chenub.<sup>24</sup> It has been suggested that Śivapura is identical with Sibipur mentioned in the Shorkot inscription discovered in a Jhang district below the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenub.<sup>25</sup> The Siboi who are described by Curtius ( Bk. IX, Ch. 4 ) and Diodorus ( Bk. XVII, Ch. XCVI ) as the people dressed in the skins of wild beasts and bearing clubs for their weapons, are probably identical with the Śiva-people mentioned in the R̥gveda ( VII. 18.7 ) or the Sibi people mentioned in the Ummadanti Jātaka ( No. 527 ) and Vessantara Jataka ( No. 547 ). The evidence seem to have been suggesting that the Śibis are to be associated with Śiva, the great god ( Mahādeva ). Evidently the worship of Śiva was prevalent in the Punjab region some centuries before the Christian era. The Śaka-Kushāṇas, who had their seat of authority in the Punjab, embraced Saivism at the first instance.

#### *Personal religion of Kanishka*

A study of the divine figures found on Kanishka's coins led Cunningham to suggest that the Kushāṇa monarch's religious life underwent several changes. At the earliest stage, Kanishka preferred the pantheon of the Greeks, worshipping Helios, Salene and Hephaistos, next a mixture of Mazdean Fire-worship and Indian Nature-worship, finally followed by his conversion to Buddhism.<sup>26</sup> Buddhist legends tell us that he became the sovereign of Jambadvīpa 400 years after the Parinirvāṇa of Buddha. He at first treated Buddhism with contempt, but later on was converted to Buddhism. It is said that while out on hunting he met a cowherd-boy who inspired him with faith in Buddha by communicating to him a prophecy of the Lord that 400 years after Him a King called Kanishka would



build a great stūpa in his honour. This led to his conversion to Buddhism and the emperor built a great stūpa at Peshawar (Purushapura).<sup>27</sup> This was the famous Kanishka-Mahāvihāra of Peshawar which excited the wonder of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang and the Muslim traveller Alberuni.<sup>28</sup> Sten Konow thinks that the Peshawar relic casket inscription of Kanishka is dated in his first regular year.<sup>29</sup> If the reading of the date is accepted, then we can hardly assume Kanishka's conversion to Buddhism at a later stage in his life. But Konow's reading of the date has not been universally accepted. An explanation of the diversity of coin-types representing Greek and Zoroastrian deities, Hindu god Śiva and Śākyamuni Buddha, is that these various types of coins were current in different provinces of a large Empire with different religious tradition.<sup>30</sup> If we accept this explanation, then it is quite likely that in spite of his personal faith in Buddhism Kanishka followed the liberal policy of toleration towards other non-Buddhist creeds and faiths. It is difficult to ascertain the authenticity of the Buddhist legends on Kanishka's conversion to Buddhism. At least, it may be asserted that Kanishka, the great patron of Buddhism, flourished at least 550 years after the death of Buddha which occurred in 486 B.C., according to Cantonese tradition. We have no other evidences than the Buddhist legends in support of Cunningham's theory that Kanishka was associated with Buddhism later in his life. The achievements of Kanishka as patron of Buddhism indicate that he possibly became a convert in the faith not much later in life.<sup>31</sup>

*Peshawar Stūpa*: The above indicates the evidences in making Kanishka a sort of second Aśoka. Buddhist traditions attribute to this Kushāṇa ruler the construction of a large stūpa, near Peshawar, which bore his name. The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya accepts the tradition,<sup>32</sup> which, variously modified, is taken up by Fa-hien<sup>33</sup>, Sung Yun<sup>34</sup> and Hiuen Tsang<sup>35</sup>. The same tradition is also



known from the Khotanese Buddhist literature<sup>36</sup> and its traces can be found in Alberuni's book on India where it is stated only that Kanishka built the 'vihāra' in Peshawar called Kanishka-caitya. The religious importance of the construction is proved by the fact that the building of the stūpa was prophesied by the Buddha himself in the course of journey which he made to these regions together with Yaksha Vajrapāni. The grand stūpa containing the relics of Buddha has been identified with the stūpa of Shāh-jiki-Dheri<sup>37</sup> wherefrom is unearthed the famous bronze casket with a Kharoshthī inscription recording the enshrinement of the relic itself in Kanishka's vihāra, in Mahāsena's Saṅghārāma, built up under the supervision of the Greek engineer Agesilao. Kanishka's renown as a Buddhist king is, no doubt, partly due to this gigantic construction.

#### *Buddha-image on coins*

The anthropomorphic representation of Buddha first appears on the coins of Kanishka. In the sculptures of Bodh-Gayā and Bhārhut, Buddha is symbolically represented by his empty throne, his bowl, his footstools, wheel, the sacred tree and caitya. No certain representation of Him appears on the coins of Maues as suggested by Tarn or on the coins of Kujula Kadphises as suggested by Smith and Whitehead. The very fact that the image of Buddha appears for the first time on the coins of Kanishka is as revealing as the multiplying legends about the huge stūpa he built. Buddha appears as standing on gold coins, being accompanied by the Greek legend "Boddo" (Buddha)<sup>38</sup>. The figure again appears on copper coins with Greek legend "Sakamana Boddo", that is, Śākyamuni Buddha.<sup>39</sup> The image which appears on a well-preserved gold stater in the British Museum<sup>40</sup> is in keeping with the typical Gandhāra figurations. The evidence of the Buddha type of coins issued by Kanishka only, among all Kushāṇa rulers, proves



beyond doubt the Kushāṇa monarch's special interest in Buddhism. Further, the human representation, replacing the symbolic one, of Lord Buddha appears as a significant landmark in the evolution of the Buddhist faith. Kanishka's contribution towards this new development is a thing of much importance.

### *Buddhist Council*

Hiuen Tsang's account and the Tibetan tradition tell us that a general Buddhist council was convoked by Kanishka.<sup>41</sup> According to the tradition recorded in Tāranāth's "History of Buddhism"<sup>42</sup>, it was a Third Buddhist Council, evidently by the exclusion of the Council of Pataliputra. He states that this Council was held either in the Kundalavana-vihāra of Kashmir or in the monastery Kuvana of Jalandhara. Bus-ton gives 300 or 360 years after Buddha's nirvāṇa as the date of the Council. Hiuen Tsang places Kanishka 400 years after the decease of Buddha. Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu gives 500 years post-nirvāṇa<sup>43</sup>. The credit for convening the Council is given by Paramārtha to Kātyāyanīputra. If we recognise the third council of Pāṭaliputra in the reign of Aśoka, an account of which is given in the Mahāvamśa ( Ch. 5 ) and repeated in the Mahābodhivamśa ( 110 ), we have to assume that the Fourth Buddhist Council was held under Kanishka's patronage.

Hiuen Tsang tells us that "in his spare moments amidst the affairs of the government he ( i.e. Kanishka, king of Gandhāra ) always studied the Buddhist sūtras and daily invited one monk to enter the palace and to expound the doctrine. But because different explanations ( of the doctrine ) were held by the various sects, the king was filled with doubt, and he had no way to remove his uncertainty". Then with the aid of the venerable Pārśva, he caused the more prominent Buddhist elders to be summoned from all



parts of his empire, add set a select body among them the task of collecting the variant texts of the Tripiṭaka and of writing expository commentaries on them. The Council under Vasumitra's guidance composed three commentaries, the Upadesa-śāstra to explain the Sūtra-Piṭaka the Vinaya-vibhāṣa-śāstra for the Vinaya and the Abhidharma-vibhāṣa-śāstra for the Abhidharma. "King Kanishka thereupon had sheets made of red copper and had the text of the treatises engraved on these, (having placed them) in a sealed stone receptacle he founded a stūpa and stored them inside it".

The Tibetan accounts tell us that the principal participants in the Buddhist Council were Pārśva with 500 Arbats under him and Vasumitra with 500 Bodhisattvas under him. While Hiuen Tsang's account gives us an impression that the Buddhist Council was predominantly a conference of the Sarvāstivādins, the sponsors of the Hīnayāna movement, the Tibetan accounts suggest that the views of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools of thought were represented in the Council. A schism in the Buddhist Church led to the recognition of Mahāyānism which had been so long in the process of its growth through propounding of the theory of "Lokottaravāda" by the Mahāsāmghikas.

#### *Kanishka and Aśvaghosa*

We should also mention the traditional association between Kanishka and Aśvaghosha, who was to become spiritual adviser to the king. The Chinese and Tibetan traditions refer to Aśvaghosha who had been originally a Brāhmin but later on converted to Buddhism by Pārśva.<sup>44</sup> In the Chinese work called Fu-Fo-tsan-Chuan (Transmission of Dharmapiṭaka, fas. 5) Aśvaghosha is said to have been taken by king Kanishka from Pāṭaliputra to his capital, Gandhāra, in the north-west of India. Aśvaghosha is famous for his literary works, Buddhacarita,



Sūtrālamkāra, Sāriputraprakaraṇa and Saundarānanda.<sup>46</sup> A systematic work on Mahāyāna philosophy called Śraddhot-pāda-śāstra, which is found in Chinese translation is attributed to him.<sup>46</sup> Some scholars<sup>47</sup> are of opinion that the Śraddhotpādaśāstra cannot possibly have been written by the poet of Buddhacarita. According to Hiuen Tsang Aśvaghosha was a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, Āryadava and Kumāralabdha.<sup>48</sup>

### *Missionary activities*

However, the extant evidences prove beyond doubt that Kanishka was not only a great patron of Buddhism but also associated himself with a galaxy of Buddhist teachers who were responsible for shaping the religion of later times. Kanishka also encouraged Buddhist missionary activities abroad. Buddhist tradition, bearing testimony to this, tells us: "He gave patronage to and spread the teachings of Buddha in India, Shu-lei (Kashgar), Kuei-tseu (Kucha), Ni-pa-lei (Nepala), Chentan (Chinasthana, China), Ta-li (Yunan) Si-hia and other countries".<sup>49</sup> The tradition is confirmed by the fact that Indians and Yue-chi people settled in Kashgarh, Khotan, Cher-chen and Tun-huang. In some of the states probably the official language was an Indian dialect of the Western Punjab, as it is evidenced by the Prākṛit Kharoshthī discovered near the Niya region<sup>50</sup> to the east of Khotan. Those colonisers most probably, were the carriers of Buddhism to Central Asia and China.

We know of a Buddhist scholar named Ghoshaka,<sup>51</sup> a Tukhāra, took an active part in Buddhist Council convoked by Kanishka and had his contribution towards the compilation of Vibhāṣā, a commentary on the Abhidharma-piṭaka of Sarvāstivāda School. After the completion of his work in the Council, Ghoshaka returned to his own country and presumably laid the foundation of the school



which later on became known as Western Vaibhāshika, connected with the country of Bālhika.

A very important contribution was made by the Buddhist monks of the Yue-Chi country i.e. Tokharistan, towards the spread of Buddhism in China. The first two missionaries to China in 68 A.D., Kaśyapa Mātāṅga and Dharmaratna, were met by the Chinese ambassadors in the country of the Yue-Chi.<sup>52</sup> From Hiuen Tsang's account it is learnt that the condition of Buddhism was the most prosperous in the cities of Balkh, Termez, Gaz and Kunduz. B. Staviskiy in his paper entitled "The Kushan Central Asia" has traced some archaeological discoveries testifying to the existence of Buddhism in Bactria and Sogdiana.<sup>53</sup> It may be suggested that under the patronage of the Buddhist monarch Kanishka the monks from Balk and Samarkand traversed the Silk-Route to China through Ser-India and spread Buddhism in the greater part of Asia.

#### *Personal religion of Kanishka's successors*

It is difficult to assess the personal religious inclination or attachment of the successors of Kanishka due to dearth of evidences. Although it is true that Buddhism continued to flourish even after the death of Kanishka I, in and outside India, it cannot be ascertained with certainty that his successors were followers of Buddhism. Their patronage was no doubt, extended to Buddhism but their gradual inclination towards Brahmanism, is shown by the epigraphic records and numismatic evidences. The coins of Vāsishka and Kanishka II have not yet come to light. Those of Huvishka represent Graeco-Roman, Zoroastrian as well as Indian divinities in large number. Buddha is conspicuous by his absence on Huvishka's coinage. The reverse devices of Vāsudeva's coinage were limited to Śiva and Ardochsho, which were also adopted by the Later



Kushāṇas. The obverse device representing "king sacrificing at an altar", first introduced by Wema Kadphises, was followed by Kanishka I, was discontinued by Huvishka and was revived by Vāsudeva I and his successors. Available evidences do not warrant the conclusion that the Kushāṇa rulers were all Buddhists. Rather, we find process of gradual Hinduisation of the Kushāṇas through rapport and reapproachment between Hellenism Iranianism on the one hand and Brahmanism on the other. The name of "Vāsudeva" held by more than one Kushāṇa ruler is significant enough to show their growing interest in Brahmanical culture.

### *Brahmanism*

The Brahmanical deity Śiva is shown not only on the Kadphises coinage but also on the coinage of Kanishka I.<sup>53</sup> On the coinage of Huvishka we find the representation of Śiva,<sup>54</sup> Śiva with his consort Umā,<sup>55</sup> Skanda Kumāra Viśākha and Mahāsenā.<sup>56</sup> Śiva only is found on the coinage of Vāsudeva.<sup>57</sup> Certain groups of Mathurā sculptures represent four-armed Śiva<sup>58</sup> with Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and Skanda, Ardhanārīśvara,<sup>59</sup> seated and standing Vishṇu,<sup>60</sup> Gaja-Lakshmī,<sup>61</sup> Brahmā,<sup>62</sup> Agni,<sup>63</sup> Gaṇeśa,<sup>64</sup> Svāmī-Kārttika,<sup>65</sup> Sūrya<sup>66</sup> and Mother-Goddesses.<sup>67</sup> The extant specimens of Mathurā school of art, no doubt, indicate a vigorous theistic movements leading to the emergence of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śāktism and minor religious faiths centring round the worship of Gaṇeśa, Sūrya and other deities. It is difficult to explain the absence of Indian form of Sun-god or Lakshmī, who had already appeared on Śaka coins but whose functions were assumed by Iranic deities, on the Kushāṇa coins.

The Mathurā record of the time of Vāsishka, dated in the year 24, is inscribed on a Yūpa pillar recovered from Iśāpur, now in Mathurā Museum. It refers to the setting up



of the Yūpa or sacrificial post and the performance of sacrificial rites performed by Droṇala, a Chāndyogya Brahmin of the Bharadvājagotra. The sacrifice was performed for the propitiation of fire and was called "dvādaśārātri". Again, the Mathurā inscription dated in the year 28 of the time of Huvishka<sup>69</sup> records the gifts of Bakanapati and Kharasalerapati in the Puṇyaśālā called Prāchini in favour of the Brahmins. A Māt inscription<sup>70</sup> of the time of Huvishka refers to the entrusting of a devakula (temple) to the Brāhmins and the grant made for them.

It is significant that the design showing "king sacrificing at an altar" is found on the coinage of Kadphises II, Kanishka I, Vāsudeva I and his successors. The motif was most probably inspired by Iranian cult of Fire-worship. But it was entirely compatible with Indian customs. In Brahmanical literature sacrifice in fire is regarded as an essential act of worship. The Kushāṇa king probably worshipped the deities represented on the reverse of coin through an offering in the fire at altar. It is ordained in the Arthaśāstra (I.9) that the Chief Priest, appointed by the king, should be capable of preventing calamities, providential or human, by performing such rites as are provided in the Atharva Veda. The Kushāṇa King may have shouldered, like the primitive tribal chief, the responsibility of the Chief Priest of the Kauṭilyan state.

Varnāśramadharma, recognised as the basis of Indian social structure by the Arthaśāstra (I.3) and Manu Smṛiti (VIII.418), was carefully upheld by the Kushāṇas ruling in India. The Pāṣaṇḍas, who included the heretical sects like the Buddhists and the Jains and were outside the pale of Vedic Brahmanical system, are marked out in the Arthaśāstra (II.4) for discriminating treatment. But neither Aśoka nor Kanishka followed this Kauṭilyan precept.



*Buddhism*

We have already discussed above how Kanishka played his significant role not only in consolidating Buddhism in India but also in spreading the religion far and wide. But the Kushāṇa ruler did not make an attempt to establish the Buddhist faith as state-religion. It is evident from the spirit of liberality or catholicism shown towards the religious faiths prevalent at the time. However, Huvishka, like his predecessor, was a patron of Buddhism and built a splendid monastery at Mathurā.<sup>71</sup> The Wardak bronze Vase Inscription<sup>72</sup> dated in the year 51 of the time of Huvishka records the enshrinement of the relics of Buddha in a stūpa in the Vagramarega Vihāra dedicated to the teachers of the Mahāsāṃghika sect. The Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription<sup>73</sup> dated in the 67 of the time of Vāsudeva refers to the installation of an image of Buddha for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṃghikas. The Mathurā Inscription<sup>74</sup> of the year 91 refers to the erection of the monastery for the Mahāsāṃghikas. The epigraphic records indicate the state policy of extending patronage to Buddhism upto the time of Vāsudeva I.

The first three centuries of the Christian era, when the Kushāṇas ruled in India, witnessed the rise of Mahāyānism which had its basis in the "lokottaravāda" of the Mahāsāṃghikas. The Buddhist sanskrit texts like the Mahāvastu, the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, the Lalitavistara were produced in this period and spread "Buddha-bhakti" very close in spirit to Vāsudeva-bhakti of the Bhagavad Gītā. The "Bodhisattvayāna" was established on firm foundation. The Kushāṇa period witnessed the growth of Mahāyāna faith based on the Mādhyamika philosophy propounded by Nāgarjuna and his disciple Āryadeva. The Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna philosophy also had its beginning during the Kushāṇa rule, although its chief exponents Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, the natives of Puruṣapura, flourished in the fourth century.



The Buddhist art under the Kushāṇas flourished in Gandhāra and Mathurā. The images of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha,<sup>75</sup> Maitreya,<sup>76</sup> Avalokiteśvara and Paṇḍita<sup>77</sup> represent the Gandhāra school of art. Buddha's life and Jātaka stories<sup>78</sup> have been depicted through sculptures by the artists influenced by the Graeco-Roman style and concepts. A predominantly indigenous school of art that flourished in Mathurā produced images of Bodhisattvas and Buddha<sup>79</sup> and depiction of the life of Buddha<sup>80</sup> in sculptures.

The Buddha image on Kanishka's coins is to be studied in the context of Mahāyāna religious movement and flourishing Buddhist art of Gandhāra and Mathurā. The Vihāras along with stūpas built up by the Kushāṇa monarchs became, no doubt, centres of Buddhist learning and culture, radiating a spirit of liberal movement among the people and setting before them ethical ideals and moral values which ensure better living in this world. The belief of the Kushāṇa rulers in Buddhism was atleast within the limits compatible with the interests of state<sup>80a</sup>. It is difficult to explain the rarity of Buddhist emblems on Kushāṇa coins in the face of the patent evidences of the affluence of Buddhism in the Kushanshahr.

Numerous inscription<sup>81</sup> of the Kushāṇa period, many of them bearing dates in the Kanishka era, have been found at Kankālī Tilā in Mathurā. Those are records refering to a firmly established Jain community, supported by the four orders, namely, male lay-worshippers, female lay-worshippers, monks and nuns. We learn from the inscriptions about the organization of the Jain Church in sections known as gaṇa, kula and śākhā. The lay-devotees erected āyāga-paṭas, stūpas, images and temples for worship and for the benefit of themselves and their parents. Among the donors figure bankers (śreṣṭhin), jewellers (maṇikāra), caravan-leaders (sārthavāha), dyers (rajaka), perfumers (gāndhika), village-headman (gāmika), dealers in metals (lohavāniya)



and other craftsmen. The available evidences suggest the stronghold that Jainism no less than Buddhism had acquired in and around Mathurā during the Kushāṇa rule. There is, however, nothing to show that the Kushāṇa state directly patronised the Jain faith. The mercantile and industrial classes, on whose support depended the strength of the Jain church, had undoubtedly made themselves prominent in the body-politic. The financial resources of the State were, to a great extent, dependent upon the secure position of those economic classes. Thus in the interest of the State, tolerance was shown towards Jainism. The bulk of the Jain inscriptions of Mathurā disproves, on the whole, any antagonism towards Jainism on the part of the Kushāṇas. It is difficult to explain the absence of Jaina deities on Kushāṇa coinage.

### *Indo-Iranianism*

Hellenistic art was employed by the Kushāṇa monarchs in representing on their own coinage Greek deities like Heracles, Helios and Salene and Zoroastrian deities like Mihira, Mao, Manobago, Nana, Ardoksho, Athsho, Orlango, Pharro and others.<sup>82</sup> It may be suggested that the Kushāṇas were primarily nature-worshippers and built up a systematic pantheon through the absorption of gods and goddesses bearing Greek, Iranian and Indian names. Various elements of Nature like Sun (Iranian Mihira, Greek Helios, Indian Mitra or Sūrya), Moon (Iranian Mao or Manaobago, Greek Salene, Indian Soma or Candra), Fire (Iranian Athsho or Orlagno, Indian Agni), Lightning (Iranian Luhrasp, Indian Apāṁnapāt), wind (Iranian Oado, Indian Vāyu), Water (Iranian Uron, Indian Varuṇa), Mother-Earth (Iranian Nana, Indian Umā), Fertility of the Earth (Iranian Ardochsho, Indian Lakshmī) and some moral values like goodness (Iranian Ahura Mazda, Indian Śiva), which reign supreme over Nature, may have been worshipped by



the Kushāṇas through their sacrifices in the fire. The numismatic evidences do not go against this view.

This discovery of the Jaṇḍial temple<sup>83</sup> at Pahlava stratum of Sirkap site proves that fire-worship was introduced in North-West India in the first half of the first century A.D. The plan of the sanctuary corresponds closely to the plans of the fire temples of Iran in the Achaemenid and Parthian periods. The absence of any kind of imagery and the presence at the back of the shrine of a platform, perhaps originally supporting a wooden fire-tower, suggest that the sanctuary may have been dedicated to Mazdean worship. Apollonius of Tyana, who visited Taxila describes a temple<sup>84</sup> which may have been the sanctuary at Jaṇḍial. Strabo tells us about the presence of Magian religious practices in Taxila.<sup>85</sup> The evidences suggest that the fire-worshipper Iranians were settled in North-West India as early as the beginning of the first century A.D.

It is likely that the Kushāṇas came to adopt fire-worship as a result of their long-continued contact with the Iranians in Bactria and Gandhāra. The device representing king sacrificing at an altar on the obverse of numerous Kushāṇa coins, the varied reverse devices showing a large number of Iranian deities and the image of Ahura Mazda on Huvishka's coins support this view. The Surkh-Kotal sanctuary appears to have been both a fire-temple and a dynastic sanctuary.<sup>86</sup> The inscription<sup>87</sup> discovered at the sanctuary refers to building and repair of a temple called "Kanishko Oaninda bago laggo" or the Kanishka-Nikator sanctuary in the year 31 by one Nokonzoko, probably a high official. H. Humbach's study of the same inscription has led him to the following inferences :

The cult at the sanctuary of Surkh-Kotal was centered upon the traditions of the ancient Aryan Haoma or Soma. Kanishka was the high priest of this cult. Image of Kanishka and Mithra were erected in the temple which was



the site of sacred fire. It has been suggested by the scholar that Kanishka constructed the sanctuary which was named after him, introduced the cult of Haoma and inaugurated it by offering to the god Mithra.<sup>88</sup> If this suggestion is accepted, we have to assume that Kanishka shifted his allegiance to Buddhism, not in the beginning of his reign, but, later on.

Iranian deities predominant in the coinage of Kanishka and Huvishka show an admixture of the orthodox traditions of the Magi and popular form of Mazdaism. The Kushāṇas supported the popular cults rooted in such nature-deities as Mao and Nana, yet permitted the Magi to maintain their holy fires and ancient ethical doctrines represented through the Amesha Spentas.<sup>89</sup> While the Iranian nature-deities remind us, quite reasonably, of the Ṛgvedic gods<sup>90</sup> and goddesses, in the Magian fire-worship we find an essential act of worship approved of by the Later Vedic literature, specially the Brāhmaṇas. Thus, the Kushāṇa period witnessed a reinforcement of ancient Indo-Iranian religious beliefs, based on the Ṛgveda and the Avestā. Although under the Kushāṇas the Iranians and the Indians, forced to meet as citizens of the same State, met as complete strangers, the syncretistic outlook of the Central Asian rulers forged a compromise between them.

A spirit of reapproachment and reconciliation is clearly demonstrated by the evidence of a nicolo seal, originally attributed by Cunningham<sup>91</sup> to Huvishka found on the seal itself, on account of the similarity of headdress and garment with those of the Kushāṇa kings. The device shows the chief standing as a suppliant with folded hands before a four-armed deity shown much bigger than him. The god wears a three-pointed ornamental head-gear, with a lower garment worn in Indian fashion, and many ornaments; his front right and left hands are placed on a peculiarly shaped mace and a wheel respectively, while the back ones hold two indistinct objects, possibly a ring



and flower. The inscription on the seal is written in Tocharian script which could not be read by Cunningham but has been deciphered by R. Ghirshman<sup>92</sup> as Miarka, Yasnu Oezo, that is, Mihira, Vishnu, Oesho or Śiva. The reading shows that the deity is a composite character; being a combined form of the Iranian sun-god Mihira, Vishnu and Śiva. The wheel is the conventional emblem of Vishnu, the mace is reminiscent of the club held by Śiva in the seal of Śivarakshita,<sup>93</sup> and in the two other indistinct objects held by the composite figure may be recognised the distinctive emblems of the Iranian Mihira. According to Ghirshman, the foreign devotee found on the seal is to be identified with the Hephthalite Huṇa chief of the fifth century A.D., on account of his characteristic dress and features. The seal device is of unique interest emphasising a development in the process of cult-syncretism which probably began in the time of Huvishka.

✓ The characteristic Kushāṇa device of king sacrificing at an altar was adopted in the coinage of early Gupta kings who are known to have been staunch supporters of Brahmanism. The cult of fire-worship was probably borrowed by the Kushāṇas direct from the Iranians. It was gradually acclimatised with the Brahmanical culture primarily based on sacrificial rites and rituals.

Nana, the Iranian mother-goddess found seated on a recumbent lion on some coins of Huvishka, was most probably the prototype of the Mother goddess, seated on lion, appearing on the Lion-slayer type of coins attributed to Chandra Gupta II and Kumāra Gupta I. The Iranian Fire-god Athsho found on Kushāṇa coins is a counterpart of Indian Agni. Flames are found as common attributes of both the deities.<sup>94</sup> The representation of Oada (Wind-god) closely follows the description of the god Vāyu as given in the Vishṇudharmottara text. In the figure of Uranus found on Huvishka's coins one may trace the god Varuṇa sculptured in the Rājārāṇī temple, Bhuvaneswar.



The main emblem of Yama, the god of death, is shown as 'noose' (pāśa) on the south basement wall of Paharpur temple<sup>96</sup> and resembles the feature of Serapis found on Huvishka's coins. The concept of Shaoshoro agrees well with that of Kuvera, both of them being considered as deities presiding over wealth. The Hindu moon-god may be traced in the Iranian deities, Mao and Manaobago, and Ardochsho, the Iranian goddess of fortune, was adopted as Lakshmī on early Gupta coinage. Some examples cited here would show how a rapprochement became possible by an amalgam of mythological, iconographic and cult-concepts.

#### *Religious policy of the Kushāa Statē*

It has been suggested by Kennedy<sup>96</sup> that the coinage of Kanishka and Huvishka was struck for foreign trade and reflected the religious beliefs of the Messenian merchants carrying on silk-trade with China and the people of Kashmir, Kabul and Arachosia who acted as their intermediaries. It has been pointed out that a hoard of Kushāna coins has been discovered in Characene, at the head of the Persian gulf.<sup>97</sup> No doubt trade-contacts between India and the Western world which were brisk during this period, may have contributed to the intermingling of religious faiths and forms of diverse races, a process which was stimulated by the numismatic tradition built up by the Kushānas. A. Stein<sup>98</sup> has ably demonstrated the Zoroastrian character of a large numbers of divinities represented on Kushāna coins. Kennedy's view helps us to locate the territories where the people worshipping those deities concentrated. But, as we have shown above, Iranian religious infiltrated the North-Western provinces of India as early as the first century A.D. The Kushānas themselves, being settled for a century or more in Bactria, before their advent in India, had come in close contact with Iranian



religious beliefs and customs. Therefore, no over-emphasis should be given on trade contacts between Characene and Messene, on the one hand, and China, on the other, through Kabul and Kandahar.

The Kushāṇa rulers faithfully maintained an attitude of catholicism towards the various ethnic or ideological communities within their polygot empire. It is proved, almost beyond doubt, that they never attempted to impose the King's faith upon the people or to establish any state religion. The deities found on the Kushāṇa coins reflect the religious beliefs of the rulers as well as the ruled, the peoples when they subdued, the Greeks, the Śakas, the Parthians whose religious faiths had been prevailing in the territories previously under their occupation.<sup>99</sup> Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism flourished side by side in the Kushāṇa state, as the rulers had maintained an impartial policy towards the existing indigenous creeds and faiths.

Most of the Kushāṇa records are private in character. The inscriptions generally record the gifts, donations, dedications by private individuals, citizens of the state, merchants, bankers, caravan leaders, officials. A question may be raised whether state patronage or the support of the indigenous aristocracy was, in fact, effective in strengthening the Buddhist and Jain Church as well as Brahmanism. If the numismatic evidences are official in character, we have reasons to believe that the Central Asians took interest in both Brahmanism and Buddhism. Kanishka's significant position in Buddhist tradition is established beyond doubt. The available evidences do not show that the Kushāṇa rulers had any positive attitude towards the Jain Church or organisation. The numismatic evidences indicate, no doubt, that the Kushāṇas were more inclined towards Iranian religious beliefs. Graeco-Roman deities found on coins are few in number.

The religion of the Kushāṇa ruling class or nobility probably did not always agree with that of the Kushāṇa



monarchs. The first two Kadphises Kings were most devoted to the Śaiva faith, as it has already been discussed above. Kanishka I was a Buddhist. Huvishka was most probably a worshipper of Ahur Mazda who figures prominently on his coins only.<sup>100</sup> The increase in the number of Zoroastrian deities on his coins is quite significant. The device 'king sacrificing at an altar' is conspicuous by its absence in Huvishka's coinage. That shows probably his antipathy towards sacrificial religion. Vāsudeva I, Vāsudeva II and Vāsudeva III were completely Hinduised as their names suggest. It is difficult to suggest their personal religious beliefs. The Kushāṇa nobility, on the other hand, probably more Iranian than Indian. The numerous Zoroastrian divinities found on Kushāṇa coins reflect the religious beliefs of the Kushāṇa ruling class or the aristocracy. Those divinities do not represent the personal religion of the Kushāṇa monarchs. They do not reflect the religious beliefs of foreign traders or their intermediaries. Because, many Zoroastrian deities are found on copper coins which were meant for local wants and not for foreign trade. The mint-masters of the Kushāṇa state probably worked under the instructions of nobility. They had employed skilled artisans, imported from western world in course of trade and commerce, to manufacture art-motifs reflecting the religious beliefs to their liking. It is to be noted, in this connection, that the Iranian deities are rarely found elsewhere in the arts of Gandhāra or Mathurā. The sculptures produced in those areas represented the Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina deities. It may be reasonably suggested that the religious views of the ruling class were at variance with those of their subjects, as might be expected in a feudal social order imposed by foreign invaders.<sup>101</sup> However, the social order based on "Varṇāśramadharma", moral and ethical principles of Buddhist 'Saṃgha' and the Jain organisation, may have been exploited by the foreign invaders to the maximum limit. Probably, with that end in view, the



Kushāṇas uniformly followed the policy of tolerance towards all sects and religious organisations. The Iranian deities like Oaninda and Shaoshoro express the concern of the ruling class with military victory and prosperity by the acquisition of wealth. While Pharro expressss glory of rulers, Ardochsho stands for material abundance.

A trend and tendency towards rapprochement between Iranianism and Brahmanism made possible the reinforcement of ancient Indo-Iranian religiouis beliefs. A syncretist outlook of the Kushāṇa monarchs is found effective in the amalgamation of cults, as it has already pointed out above. If we study "Śiva and Nana" type<sup>102</sup> and "Śiva and Umā" type of coins issued by Huvishka, we at once find out the equation of the position of Nana with that of Umā. This tendency towards equation of religious beliefs, was given a vigorous start by the Kushāṇa rulers. The Kushāṇa state accommodated diverse races and peoples. The forces of disintegration were present. Decentralisation of political powers had to be acknowledged by an imperialist monarch in those days. It was in the interest of the state that the Kushāṇa rulers encouraged mutual understanding and give-and-take between diverse communities with different religious affiliations. As a result alien concepts imported from outside, whether Hellenic or Iranian, were gradually Indianised and accommodated within indigenous religious traditions of complex character.

It has been suggested that the Kushāṇa rulers showed a great deal of eclecticism in their religious views.<sup>103</sup> The suggestion should imply that they made their own choice from different religious systems and aspired after formulating a new system of faith. In that case we should find out the Kushāṇa pantheon reconstructed out of Hellenic, Iranian and Indian pantheons. Among the so-called Zoroastrian deities of Stein we may distinguish Mithraic god Mihira, Elamite goddess Nanaia and Egyptian god Serapis. Indian religion should be classified at least into three main



systems : Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. Brahmanism was subdivided into different faiths, namely, Vedic sacrificial religion, Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, Śāktism, the theistic religious centring round Sun-god Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya. It may be suggested that a systematic and original pantheon was developed by the Kushāṇas through the absorption of gods and goddesses bearing Greek, Persian and Indian names. But, as we have pointed out above, the available evidences suggest predominantly Iranian character of the religious beliefs of the Kushāṇa ruling class, while the Kushāṇa monarchs may have been Śaivite, Buddhist, devotee of Ahura Mazda or even Vaishnavite. What is most glaring in the religious policy of the Kushāṇa state is, not eclecticism, but catholicism and syncretism.

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## Chapter VI

## SOCIETY AND POLITY

*Manu's Society Theory :*

A state is a people organised for law within a definite territory. Maintenance of social order is one of the most vital functions of the state. In early India "Varṇāśrama-dharma" rooted in the Vedas was treated by the law-giver like Manu and Yājñavalkya as the basis of the social order. According to both Manu ( II. 6 ) and Yājñavalkya ( I. 7 ), the sources of dharma or law are the Veda, the traditions ( Smṛiti ), the customs of good men and self-satisfaction. Manu ( I. 87-91 ) tells us how the supreme Being assigned their distinctive duties and occupations to the four castes that sprang from His mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively, namely, the Brāhmaṇas, the Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. The King grows in power and prosperity, according to Manu ( VIII. 172 ), when he prevents the confusion of castes. These ideas of social order virtually dependent on state most probably evolved in the early centuries before and after the Christian era, when India was exposed to invasions by the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Kushāṇas and others. Presumably, the settlements of the casteless nomads in India brought about a positive set back to the traditional social order. That is the reason why the law-givers felt urgently the necessity of codifying the laws governing the mechanism of the social machinery. Not only did they upheld the Śruti and Smṛiti-ideals of society but also they recorded gradual deviations from the set ideals in times of distress ( āpaddharma )<sup>1</sup> and in different Age Cycles, Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali ( Yugadharma )<sup>2</sup> in order to make their works all-comprehensive.



*Social Disorder :*

The havoc wrought by the foreign invaders and settlers in Indian society is brought home by the pointed testimony of the "Yugapurāṇa" section of the Gārgī Samhitā.<sup>3</sup> In course of an account of the invasions of the Yavanas and the Śakas it is said in the style of a prophecy that at the end of the Kali age all distinctions between the non-Aryans and the Aryans, between Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, between orthodoxy and heresy, will disappear. Due to the foreign invasion, it is hinted that even the family life was jeopardised, women deviating from all norms. In the Mahābhārata ( viii. 40, 20-44 ; 44, 6-44 ; 45, 5-38 ) reference is made to the general immorality that prevailed among the Madraka and the Vāhika men and women who, it may be supposed, lived in close contact with the foreigners in the land of the Five Rivers. In the Great Epic the Yavanas, Kāmbojas etc. are described as fierce barbarians ( vi. 9.65 ) and are reckoned among sinful people having the nature of Śvapakas and vultures ( xii. 207.43-5 ). The Ābhīras are found as sinful and greedy dasyus ( Mbh. xvi. 7.47-9 ).

The "Yugadharma" sections of the early Purāṇas, ascribed to a period round about the early centuries of the Christian era,<sup>4</sup> allude to the general decline of Dharma, the depression of the Orthodox priestly class and the rise of the Śūdras. The people did not often like to observe the rules of castes and to carry into execution the duties enjoined by the Ṛg-, the Sāma- and the Yajur Veda ( Vishṇu P. VI. 1, 10.49 ). The twice-born gave up the study of the Vedas and the performance of sacrifices ( Vāyu P. Ch. 58, 38 ; Brahmanḍa P. II, 31 ; Matsya P. 144, 38a ). Men of all degrees pretended to be equal with the Brāhmaṇas and defined their authority ( Vishṇu P. VI. 1 ). The Vaiśyas gave up their trade and agriculture and earned their livelihood by servitude or exercise of mechanical arts ( Vishṇu P. VI. 1 ). The pure Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas were almost extinct ( Matsya



P. 144 ; Vāyu P. 58 ; Brahmāṇḍa p. II, 31) and the prevailing caste was the śūdra ( Vishṇu P. VI. 1 ). In the Kali age the majority of the kings were śūdras ( Matsya P. 144 ; Vayu P. 58 ). Women became prone to enjoyment, were lax about moral character and disobeyed their husbands ( Vishṇu P. VI. 1 ).>

#### *Foreign Influences :*

The factors that were responsible for the disintegration of the social fabric require re-examination. It is suggested that the incursions of the foreign elements, the Greeks, Śakas, Parthians and Kushāṇas caused social convulsions and political disturbances.<sup>5</sup> There is no denying the fact that contact with outlandish people having no allegiance to the "Varṇāśramadharma" brought an alien influence upon Indian society. Besides, the foreigners, being in the position of the ruling class, were invested with enough political powers to determine social and economic developments. The art of the Kushāṇa period, especially the terracotta art, found at various sites of Northern India, such as Mathurā<sup>6</sup>, Ahichhatra<sup>7</sup>, Bhīṭā<sup>8</sup>, Kauśāmbī<sup>9</sup>, Pāṭaliputra<sup>10</sup> etc. points to the influx of the Central Asian racial types and the magnitude of their role in Indian social life.>

#### *Heretical Religious :*

The activities of the heretical religions contributed no less towards dislodgement of Brahmanism from its privileged position. The numerous Mathurā Inscriptions show that in the period ranging from about the middle of the second century B.C. to the end of the Kushāṇa rule Jainism was firmly established in Mathurā where grew up a Jain community, strongly supported by pious lay-devotees showing their zeal in the consecration and worship of images and shrines devoted to Mahāvira and his predecessors.<sup>11</sup>



The Jains did not recognise the authority of the Vedas and had little faith in caste-distinctions and in the Brahmanical rites and duties.

Buddhism flourished under the patronage of Kings like Aśoka and Kanishka. The Śātavāhana kings extended liberally gifts and donations in favour of the Buddhist saṅgha.<sup>12</sup> That the Kushāṇa rule was favourable to Buddhism is borne out by the testimony of Kalhan's Rājatarāṅginī which tells us that during the reign of the Turushka kings, large numbers of Vihāras and Chaityas were built up and Kāshmir was in the possession of the Buddhists.<sup>13</sup> The general prevalence of Buddhism in Kāshmir, Afghanistan, Mathurā and other places of Northern India during the early centuries before and after the Christian era is attested by the numerous Buddhist monuments and a multitude of inscriptions.<sup>14</sup> Like the Jains, the Buddhists did not regard the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas and recognised neither caste-distinctions nor Varṇāśramadharma. Both to the Jains and the Buddhists the only recognised stage of life was that of Sannyāsa.

The two other early religious movements of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism are found to be of anti-Brahmanical character. It has been stated in the Mahābhārata (XII. 349): "Know, O saintly king, the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga, the Pāñcarātra, the Vedas and the Pāśupata as knowledge holding different views". No doubt, the Pāñcarātra and the Pāśupata systems were the roots of early Vaiṣṇava and Pāśupata movements. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pāṇini IV. 3.98) mentions "Vāsudeva-vargyaḥ" and "Vāsudeva-varginah" i.e. the followers of Vāsudeva, and regards Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva as a divine being. The great commentator (Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini V. 2.76) also mentions the Śiva-bhāgavatas, devotees of Śiva, and speaks of the stress that lay on the worship of images. The Śaka-Kushāṇa kings who reigned from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. were usually devotees of Śiva or



Buddha and were not well disposed towards the religion of Vāsudeva.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the religion of Vāsudeva or that of Buddha attracted the Indo-Greeks. The epigraphic and numismatic evidences as well as the art-objects discovered in Mathurā leave no doubt about the popularity of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism.

### *Rise of Śūdras :*

The rise of the Bhakti cult paved the way for equality of rights in society and the Śūdra, who had been so long deprived of any access to Varṇāśramadharmā, came to establish his equal share in the religious life. In the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa ( III. 2.3.9 ) it is stated that the Śūdra has no right to sacrifice on account of his low birth. According to the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra ( I. 1.1.6 ) the Śūdra cannot be admitted to the Upāsana and the study of the Vedas. The Gautama Dharma Sūtra ( 8.55 ) lays down that a Śūdra can only lead the life of a householder, and not that of a student, hermit or ascetic. The disabilities of a Śūdra are recorded in the Manu Samhitā ( X. 4 ; VIII. 20-21 ; IV. 223 ; III. 156 ; IV. 99 ; X. 127 ; III. 178 ), the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti ( III. 262 ) and the Anuśāsana parvan ( 149.13 ) of the Mahābhārata. But the doctrines of Bhāgavatism as propounded in the diactic sections of the Great Epic and the Purāṇas show that it extended to the Śūdras the privilege of worshipping and attaining liberation.<sup>16</sup> The Bhagavad Gītā states ( IX. 32 ) that even women and śūdras can attain emancipation through their devotion to Kṛṣṇa-Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva. Of all the religious acts highest is the meditation on Kṛṣṇa according to the Viṣṇu and the Brahma Purāṇas.<sup>17</sup> It is, therefore, quite natural for men of all degrees to attempt to be equal with the Brāhmaṇas. It has been suggested as one of the symptoms of the Kali Age in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa ( VI. 1 ).

It has been suggested that the Nandas, the Mauryas and



the Andhras were of low origin and belonged to the śūdra caste.<sup>18</sup> If this suggestion is accepted, it is likely that the śūdras enjoyed political supremacy from the beginning of the 4th century B.C. to the end of the third century A.D. in countries like *Āṅga*, *Magadha*, *Dakṣiṇāpatha* which lay outside the pale of *Aryavarta* according to *Baudhāyana's Dharma Sūtra* (I. 1.29). The North-Western India, the seat of Aryan culture turned to be the play-ground of struggle for supremacy among the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas and Kushāṇas. When the caste-less foreigners, the outlandish barbarian tribes of anti-Brahmanic manners and customs, came to occupy the position of the Kshatriyas (the ruling aristocracy), all traditional social values were missing for the time being. Although they were soon Indianised, their influences may have given a jolt to the Indian society. The statement in the "Yugadharma" section of the *Matsya Purāṇa* (Ch. 144) that the pure Kshatriyas were almost extinct and the prevailing caste was the śūdras, is, no doubt, significant.

In *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* (II. 1) it is recommended that the state-planned colonization (*Janapadaniveśaḥ*) the single village should comprise between a hundred and five hundred families mostly of Śūdra cultivators (*Śūdra Karshaka-prāyaṃ*). While the needs of religion are to be met by grants of land to Brāhmaṇas, those of the administration are to be satisfied by similar grants to various subordinate officials. It is further said by *Kauṭilya* that prepared fields (*Kṛita kshetrāṇi*) are to be given to cultivators for a single generation, but unprepared fields are not to be taken from them : neglect of cultivation is to be punished with transfer of holding to others (*akrishatāmāchchhidyānyebhvaḥ prayachchhet*). It seems that the śūdras who were the cultivators under the Brāhmaṇa and the Kshatriya overlordship had no right over the land in the time of *Kauṭilya*. But in the *Manu-saṃhitā* the position of cultivator-śūdras was changed. *Manu* (IX. 44)



lays down that the field belonged to him who cleared away the jungles (sthānuchchhedyasya kedāramāhuḥ) and made it cultivable. The śūdras may have been given land for subsistence as dependent peasants, which is reflected in the increase of Śūdra share-croppers (ārdhika) [Manu IV. 253]. Thus the economic privileges of the śūdras was recognised.

*Growth of the mercantile community :*

Although the social position of the Śūdras was heightened, the Purāṇic statement on the extinction of the Vaiśyas (Vishṇu VI. 1) cannot be applicable to the period when India was under foreign rule in the first-second centuries A.D. The Vaiśyas who were traders and merchants flourished with the development of trade and commerce during the Kushāṇa period. With the help of the evidences of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and the Graeco-Roman materials brought to light by the excavations at Begram and Taxila it may be assumed that the main trade-routes connecting Alexandria, the focus of Oriental trade, with Central Asia and China lay through North-West India lying within the Kushāṇa Empire.<sup>19</sup> The Roman Emperors, in view of their hostile relations with the Arsacids of Parthia, may have cultivated friendship with the Kushāṇas of India in order to maintain their control over Oriental trade and commerce. The Kushāṇa rulers modelled their gold coinage on the weight-standard of the Roman aureus in order to consolidate the position of advantage for India in international trade and commerce. Thus, under direct royal patronage flourished the wealthy mercantile community in India. The Periplus tells us that the exports from Barygaza were onyx, stones, porcelain, fine muslin, cotton, spikenard, perfumes, ivory, silk etc. The exports from Barake included pepper, pearls, ivory, fine silks, spikenard, betel, precious stones, diamonds etc.



Almost all the articles were produced in South India. Some of the perfumes came from North India. Cotton was produced in the Deccan. Muslin was manufactured mostly at Masulipatam and the country near about it. This probably explains why Roman coins are more extensively found in South India than in North India. The Kushāṇa period witnessed the extension of trade with south-east Asia, caused at first by the Roman demand for spices which led Indian merchants to venture as middlemen to Malaya, Java, Sumatra and Borneo, the sources of spices.<sup>20</sup> The Mahāvastu (III) mentions merchants crossing over the heavy seas on ships laden with merchandise. In the Saundarānanda (II.52) and the Buddhacharita (I. 21) Aśvaghosha refers to the different circumstances faced by the merchants crossing the sea on ships. According to the Milindapañha (p. 359) Indian maritime trade was not merely confined to coastal sailings connecting Vaṅga with Kalopattana (Coromandal coast), Sauvira and Surat, but Indian ships touched far off posts like Alasandai (Alexandria) and Takkola in the west, and Chinam (China), Java and Suvannabhūmi (Sumatra) in the east.

Besides the sea-faring merchantas (Sārthavāha mahāsamudrāvātīṇa) there were two other classes of businessmen, namely, "Vaṇiks" with stationery interest in shops and "Sārthavāhas"<sup>21</sup> who moved in caravans from one place to the other within the country. The inland traders covered long distances, as for example between Takshaṣilā and Vārāṇasī (Mahāvastu II). In the Milindapañha (p. 17) there is a reference to a merchant going to Pāṭaliputra with five hundred wagons. The money-lenders known as "Śreshṭhin" belonged to the Vaṇik-class. The traders and merchants often formed guilds which played significant role in the economic life of the people. Guilds are referred to in the Mahāvastu (III), some inscription of Āndhra-Kshatrapa period<sup>22</sup> and a Mathurā inscription of Huvishka dated in the year 28.<sup>23</sup> The rising importance of the



Vaiśyas may have caused concern to the upholders of traditional social law and usage.

*Degradation of the priestly class :*

A study of the *Jātakas* gives us to believe that the people, not excepting the *Brāhmaṇas* often did not care to set much store by the Brahmanical rules of castes and *āśramas*.<sup>24</sup> For earning their livelihood the *Brāhmaṇas* became caravanguards, agriculturists, cowherds, carpenters, weavers, astrologers, magicians etc.<sup>25</sup> Like the *Jātakas*, the *Manu Smṛiti* ( X. 81-94 ) tells us that a *Brāhmaṇa*, unable to subsist by his peculiar occupations ( that is, teaching the *Vedas* and offering sacrifices ), may adopt a *Vaiśya*'s mode of life, employing himself in agriculture and cattle-rearing, preferably in selling commodities with some exceptions. The *Mathurā* stone Inscription of the time of *Śoḍāsa* refers to a Brahmin treasurer ( *Gaṁjavara* ), that is, a high state-official.<sup>24a</sup> In Indian society described in the *Jātakas* we find instances of interdining and intermarrying among princes ( *Kshatriyas* ), *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śreshṭhins* ( *Vaiśyas* ).<sup>26</sup> That such contamination of castes was in progress in the early centuries of the Christian era is evident from the *Sātavāhanā* king *Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi*'s claim to have stopped the contamination of the four varṇas in the *Nāsik* Cave Inscription of *Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumavi*'s 19th regnal year.<sup>27</sup> Exchange of duties and occupations between different varṇas leading towards an admixture of castes is reflected in the *Āṅgavijjā*, a work of the *Kushāṇa* period.<sup>28</sup> The text refers to *Bambha-Khatta* ( *Brahma-Kshatriya* ), *Khatta-Bambha* ( *Kshatra-Brāhmaṇas* ), *Vessa-bambha* ( *Vaiśya-Brāhmaṇa* ), *Bambha-Sudda* ( *Brahma-Śūdra* ), *Sudda-bambha* ( *Śūdra-Brāhmaṇa* ), *Khatta-Vessa* ( *Kshatra-Vaiśya* ), *Vessa-Khatta* ( *Vaiśya-Kshatriya* ), *Khatta-Sudda* ( *Kshatriya-Śūdra* ), *Sudda-Khatta* ( *Śūdra-Kshatriyas* ), *Vessa-Sudda* ( *Vaiśya-Śūdras* ), *Sudda-Vessa*



(Śūdra-Vaiśya).<sup>29</sup> What is implied is that the people of the lower Varṇas adopted on a large scale the occupations originally assigned to the higher status.<sup>30</sup> Manu (X. 81-98) has prescribed that in times of distress a Brāhmaṇa should adopt the occupation of a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya, a Kshatriya should follow the occupations of a Vaiśya, and a Vaiśya may maintain himself by a Śūdra's mode of life but not vice versa. A man, who lives by the occupation of a higher varṇa, is to be punished by the king according to Manu (X. 96). A Śūdra, in times of distress, is advised to maintain himself by handicrafts, mechanical occupations and various practical arts (Manu X. 99-100). But the law-giver's reiteration at every step that the Brāhmaṇa is inherently superior in every way to all other members of society reflects the ground on which his theory of social order stands. With such no bias for the supremacy of the Brāhmins, the Aṅgavijjā may have brought into relief the actual facts of social life.

### *Woman and family life*

The heretical religions, which flourished under the patronage of the Greeks and Śaka-Kushāṇas, allowed more and more freedom to women especially in religious matters and thus became instrumental to their advancement.

Freedom of women naturally created disadvantages to their families. According to Manu (IX. 3), a woman is never fit for independence, her father protects her in childhood, her husband protects her in youth, and her sons protect her in old age. It has been suggested by the law-giver (IX. 4-13) that women must particularly be guarded, otherwise they would bring sorrow on the family-life. Being attracted by Buddha's Dhamma women often renounced the world and accepted the more rigorous life of the bhikṣuṇīs.<sup>31</sup> That the Śvetāmbara Jains also gave women admission into their order is shown



by the frequent mention of female lay-worshippers in the Mathurā Inscriptions.<sup>32</sup> When a sect of women asserted their religious rights by adopting heretical doctrines, the others enjoyed their freedom in attaching themselves with immoral activities. <sup>4</sup> Proneness to demoralisation on the part of women bring about 'varṇa-saṁkara' or caste-confusion (Adharmābhībhavāt kṛishṇa pradushyanti Kulāstrīyaḥ/ Strīshu dushṭāsu vārshṇeya jāyate varṇa-saṁkaraḥ//—Bhagavat Gītā, IX. 40). It is said by Manu ( X. 24 ) : <sup>3</sup> “By adultery ( committed by persons ) of ( different ) castes, by marriages with women who ought not to be married, and by the neglect of the duties and occupation ( prescribed ) to each, are produced ( sons who owe their origin ) to a confusion of the castes.”

#### ✓ *Changing order in Society*

The above discussion would show the changes in society in the early centuries of the Christian era. The rise of the heretical religious like Buddhism, Jainism, Pāñcarātra and Pāsupata systems undermined the authority of the Vedas and the Brahmins and challenged the Varṇāśramadharmā. <sup>34 N</sup> The assertion of the political, economic and religious rights of Śūdras was a reality, although it may have meant defiance of the unrivalled supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas whom they had been serving so far. The role of Indian Kshatriyas is not clearly known, if the Nandas, Mauryas and Āndhras are considered as non-Kshatriyas. The position of the ruling class was, however, captured by the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas and Kushāṇas who were gradually brought into the Aryan fold by granting to them right to sacrifice and other Vedic rites ( Mbh. XII. 65.13-22 ). They have been stamped as “degraded Kshatriyas” by Manu ( X. 43-44 ). The Vaiśyas flourished as traders and merchants ( Vanik, Sārthavāha, Śreṣṭhin ) and made their mark in growing mercantile capitalism. Even the Brāhmaṇas adopted



sometimes the Vaiśya mode of life. State-control over land, introduced in the Kauṭilyan period, was withdrawn in the age of Maṇu. As a result individual enterprises in farming found encouragement. Cultivators, who had been so long deprived of their rights over land, were gradually recognised as share-croppers. The lords of one village, ten villages, twenty villages, hundred villages and thousand villages represented the state-officials appointed for revenue-collection and entitled to a share of it. We have discussed this point in previous chapters. Caste-confusion or Varṇa-Saṁkara was due, partly to illegal marriages encouraged by demoralisation of women and partly to exchange of occupations and duties between different Varṇas or castes. The heretical religious movements not only attracted the alien peoples but also Śūdras and women who were deprived of their rights to Vedic rites. Assertion of the rights of women may have caused, in some cases, family troubles. But if we believe in the epigraphic records discovered in Mathurā, it is likely that women performed their religious practices, in most cases, within their family-bindings. There is least doubt that the social order was passing through a transition-stage. From the point of view of the Brahmanical writers it was disorder and disintegration of the social fabric.

The downfall of the Maurya Empire let loose the forces of political disintegration in Northern India. A series of foreign invasions may have worsened the political situation and caused total unrest all over the country. Political decentralisation was, in no small measure, responsible for invalidating social integrity and cohesion. But influence of polity over society is to be taken into account within certain limits.

### *Rural Society*

Political changes caused by rise and fall of dynasties or foreign invasions were more felt in towns and cities



forming the administrative headquarters than in villages, Timeless villages with their closed self-sufficient economy, mainly based on agriculture and small industries, served to keep Indian society alive despite political conditions hostile to its culture.<sup>33</sup> Rural Society was largely self-governing. It was formed by Brahmin priests, artisans and craftsmen, farmers and cultivators. The post of village headman (grāmaṇi or grāmika or grāmasvāmī) was usually hereditary. The actual administrative work of the village was performed by him with the help of the village-assembly (Sabhā) and its committees.<sup>34</sup> The control exercised by the central and provincial government over the village administration was usually limited. The village communities and the councils derived their power from immemorial custom and not from any charter of the Central Government. Rarely did the state intervene in the village affairs. Villages were arranged in groups of ten, twenty, one hundred and one thousand. Each village-headman was responsible to his superior and had to report all important occurrences within his jurisdiction. Self-government and self-sufficient economy made the rural society almost closed and indifferent to the political changes in the outside world. However, villages yielded a surplus production that could support a tribal chief, a king or an invader.<sup>35</sup>

#### *Urban social structure*

Towns and cities were often centres of administration, trade and commerce, education and learning, and religious institutions. (Nagarādhyaksha or Mayor of the city is referred to in the Śāntiparvan (87.10) of the Mahābhārata, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (II. 36) and Manu Samhitā (VII. 121).) The state-officials often established their adishthānas, provincial or district headquarters in towns which served as centres of revenue-administration. Besides,



according to Manu (VII. 114), military cantonments (Gulma) were stationed in the midst of two, three, five or hundred villages, for protection of the kingdom. The urban economy was dependent on trade and industry. Traders, merchants and artisans, organised in guilds played a determining role in the economic life of the urban population. It is to be noted that the mercantile communities of towns extended their support, in the form of gifts and donations, to the heretical religions. The records of Kārle, Kānheri, Mathurā and Sāñchī give a glimpse into these activities of the Śreshthins and the Sārthavāhas. Under the patronage of both the mercantile class and the ruling class flourished Buddhism, Jainism, the anti-Vedic religions. The exponents of anti-Vedic religious movements, therefore, found centres of instructions in towns and cities. Trade-routes often served as the routes of the missionaries followed for religious propaganda. Challenge to an established standard of social values encouraged the Śūdras to assert their social rights and privileges. It was quite likely that the Śūdra-cultivators, being deprived of their rights to land-ownership were gradually inclined towards urban industries assuring financial security and even wealth and social power and prestige. We have shown above that Manu has recommended for the Śūdras the industrial occupations in times of their distress. The people's mind was always occupied with the thoughts of money, as it has been stated in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (VI. 1). It was but quite natural in view of the growing power and popularity of the mercantile capitalists. Rarely do we find any record testifying to a village-woman making gifts in favour of a heretical religion. Mostly women related to bankers, traders, merchants, artisans, craftsmen are found to have made their dedications in cities like Mathurā. If the joining of new religions indicates freedom of women, it is to be found in towns and cities. The life of a city-bred man of fashion (Nāgaraka) is depicted in Vātsāyana's



*T* Kāmasūtra (I. 4, 1), a work of the first-second century A.D.<sup>36</sup> An indulgence in epieureanism was possible in cities dominated by wealthy traders and merchants. Laxity of women's morals was to have been a feature of city-life. The impure practices of women in the Punjab and Saurāshṭra region regarding matters of sex are mentioned by Vātsāyana (II. 5, 25).<sup>A</sup>

*B* *Two opposite forces in Society*

While the villages were the productive units of the country, the towns were centres for distribution and exchange, of big business and industrial combines where, besides their own wealth, the wealth of the country accumulated and attracted in its turn learning and culture as well as luxuries and parasite professions.<sup>37</sup> It seems probable that the cities like Pāṭaliputra, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Vārāṇasī, Mathurā, Takshaśilā and Pushkalāvati were the centres of politico-socio-economic changes, while the villages stuck to the traditional social order based on 'Varṇāśramadharma'. The Brāhmaṇas had been settled in villages as it is learnt from the "janapadaniveśa" chapter of the Arthaśāstra. Manu (XI. 25) suggests that a Brāhmaṇa used to beg property for sacrifice and the property of those who zealously offer sacrifices was called the property of god (XI. 20). The śūdras probably served the Brāhmaṇas (IX. 334-335) by cultivating their lands. However, those orthodox Brāhmaṇas seem to have maintained the ideals of the Varṇāśramadharma and the authority of the Śruti and the Smṛiti.

Tendency of social change as well as social immobility are found simultaneously. The growth of the mercantile community, the rise of the Śūdras and the emergence of the heretical religions are some of the striking features of dynamism in social life. At the same time an attempt to maintain the Smṛiti-dharma or law characterizes the traditionalists' trend and tendency in social thinking. The



dialectics in social thought is a reality in the life of Indian people throughout the ages. It cannot be explained away in the light of external factors only, like political disturbances. Social behaviour of the people is to be studied in the context of an internal growth and decline of some economic and religious institutions. A constant movement towards expansion is a natural instinct in social organism. At the same time traditional mode of thinking always disapproves of such social growth through new experiences. What is more significant in Indian history is that tradition has all-through won over the intruding new ideas and ideals of social order. The challenge against Brahmanism through the anti-vedic heretical religious which gained popularity for sometime, was successfully met by re-assertion of the Smṛiti-Dharma through the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.<sup>38</sup>

#### *Political disintegration and its impact*

The political disintegration, after the decline of the Mauryas, may have temporarily caused an uncertainty even in social order. But, under the Kushāṇa rulers, who had been passing through a process of Indianisation from the very beginning, political unity of Northern India was restored and was maintained for more than a century. From the end of the second century B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D., that is, for about two centuries, the Śuṅgas, Kāṇvas, Āndhras or the local kings of Mathurā Kauśāmbī, Pañcāla and Ayodhyā could not, in spite of their imperial ambitions, restore political unity. The role of the Greeks, Śakas and Pahlavas, may be assessed in the language of the Viṣṇupurāṇa (IV. 24.18-25): "They will be of limited power, and will, for the most part, rapidly rise and fall." The political suzerainty of the Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas was effectively established in North-West India and portions of the Punjab. Thus, efforts were



made to bring about some sort of certainty in political life but in vain. There was a tendency among the people to imitate the foreigners. "The people of various countries will intermingle with them and follow their example (Vishnu Purāṇa, IV. 24). Foreign influences were cast on the people living at least in the Punjab region. The Mahābhārata (VIII. 40, 44, 45) vigorously disapproves of the customs and practices of the people living in this region, making particular reference to the Madrakas and the Vāhikas. On the other hand, the political supremacy of the Brahmins could not be maintained due to the weakness of the Suṅgas and the Kāṇvas upon whom probably there was reliance for the revival of Brahmanism after a long-drawn predominance of Buddhism under the patronage of Aśoka, the Maurya. The evidence of the Nānāghat Cave Inscriptions<sup>39</sup> suggests that the Āndhrās stood for the revival of Brahmanical sacrifices and maintenance of the Brahmins as the priestly class. But their power was eclipsed due to the military success of the Śaka king Nahapāna. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, "ekabamhana" (protector of Brahmins),<sup>40</sup> who claims to have stopped "Varṇasamkara", could not restore the lost prestige of his dynasty before the beginning of the second century A.D. The political support to Brahmanism and Varṇāśramadharmā could not be maintained by the decline of the Āndhra power in the face of an irresistible growth of power of the Śakas under the leadership of Rudradāman who flourished before the middle of the second century A.D.<sup>41</sup>

#### *Kushāṇa state policy*

The cosmopolitan character and catholic religious temper of the Kushāṇa age, that saw the revival of the Oriental and Occidental commerce and cultural intercourse across the trans-Asian routes astride the Kushāṇa Empire, are strikingly illustrated by the representation of a large



variety of Middle Eastern, Greek, Roman, Zoroastrian and Hindu deities on the coins of the Kushāṇas.<sup>42</sup> A synergetic attitude of the Kushāṇa rulers encouraged a rapport between indigenous and foreign religions, between Mahāyāna Buddhism and Hinduism and between foreign ethnic elements and Indian Varṇāśrama system. The worship of Vāsudeva-Krishṇa figuring in the Kushāṇa art of Mathurā, of Śiva, Umā, Skanda Visākha and Mahāsenā, contributed to bring about a renaissance of Brāhmanism. As we have already pointed out in previous chapters, the Kushāṇa rulers were tolerant towards Brahmanism. This is mainly known to us from two records of the time of Vāsishka<sup>43</sup> and Huvishka<sup>44</sup> discovered in Mathurā. It seems that the Kushāṇa age witnessed the beginning of the process of gradual re-establishment of the authority of the Vedas, the social prestige of the Brāhmaṇas and the Varṇāśramadharma after India had passed through a troublesome period of Varṇa-saṁkara and āpad-dharma, the Kaliyuga. An end to the Purāṇic Kuliyuga, however, was initiated when political unity was restored in the greater part of Northern India. The social order, which came to be established in the background of a political order of about a century and half, absorbed foreign elements and thoroughly Indianised them. Brahmanical orthodoxy was directed against the disintegration of the system of Varṇa that had been going on as a result of cumulative operation of a variety of factors.

#### *Social stratification in the Post-Maurya period*

As Megasthenes states, in the Maurya period Indian society was divided into seven classes: philosophers, farmers, soldiers, herdsmen, artisans, magistrates and councillors.<sup>46</sup> This division appears to have been more economic than social. Besides, the number of economic classes is confused in Megasthenes' account. However, this may be a starting point for our discussion.



The philosophers are classified into two groups, the Brachmanes and the Sarmanes by the Greek writer. The Sarmanes are further divided into small groups<sup>47</sup>: the hylobioi who live like ascetics, the physicians, and the diviners and sorcerer. This again, appears to be a confused description. Megasthenes must have known about Buddhist and Jain Śramaṇas, although the detailed description does not fit with them. The hylobioi who lived as ascetics probably stands for both Śramaṇas, Buddhist and Jain, and Orthodox Brāhmaṇas of the Vānaprastha stage.

In Manu's account the of Brāhmaṇas are represented not only as the sacerdotal class ( I. 88 ) but as those responsible for the protection of the treasury of the Law ( Dharmakośasya Guptaye — I. 99 ). The Nānāghat Cave Inscription<sup>48</sup> refers to the dakṣiṇā ( fees ) given at various sacrifices. The Nāsik, Kārle inscriptions of the time of Nāhapāna<sup>49</sup> record gifts and donations to the Brāhmaṇas. The Isāpur column inscription of the time of māhārāja rājatirāja devaputra Shāhi Vāsishka<sup>50</sup> refers to the performance of a sattra of twelve nights by the Brāhmaṇa Droṇala, the son of Rudrila, of the Bharadvāja gotra. > Again, on the strength of the tradition in the Chinese Saṃyuktaratnapitakasūtra it is believed that a Brāhmaṇa named Māhara was appointed as a minister of State by Kanishka. Previously, Śoḍāsa, a Śaka King of Mathurā, had a Brahmin treasurer.<sup>51</sup> > If Manu is believed in, >administration of justice and legislation were in the hands of the Brāhmaṇas ( VIII. 9 ; XII. III. > in the Kushāṇa State.

The Śramaṇas of our period are often referred to in epigraphic records. The Mathurā Jaina panel inscription contains the name of Śramaṇa Kaṇha.<sup>52</sup> The Mathurā Jaina stone inscription<sup>53</sup> refers to Śramaṇa Māgharakshita. The Nāsik Buddhist Cave Inscription of Vāsishthīputra Śrī Pulumāyi dated in the 19th regnal year,<sup>54</sup> refers to the Śramaṇas of Benākaṭa who live on mount Triraśmi.



Śramaṇikā is mentioned in some Amarāvati Buddhist sculpture inscriptions.<sup>55</sup>

The ascetics were also known as bhikshus and bhikṣuṇīs. The Sārnāth Buddhist image inscription<sup>56</sup> of Kanishka's year 3 and the Set-Māhet inscription of Kanishka<sup>57</sup> records the gift of Bhikshu Bala, who knows the Tripiṭaka, the companion of Bhikshu Pushyavṛddhi. The Sui Vihar Copper plate inscription<sup>58</sup> of Kanishka's year 11 records the raising of the staff by Bhikshu Nāgadatta. The Kośām Boddhisattva inscription<sup>59</sup> of Kanishka's year 2 records the erection of a Bodhisattva statue by the bhikṣuṇī Bodhimitrā. The Mathurā Buddhist Image pedestal inscription<sup>60</sup> of the year 8 records the gift of bhikṣuṇī Buddhādāsī. A large number of inscriptions discovered at Mathurā<sup>61</sup> refer to the gifts of bhikshus.

Monks and nuns were designated as bhadanta and bhadantī. We find reference to the bhadanta in some Mathurā Jain and Buddhist inscriptions,<sup>62</sup> Bhārhut Buddhist pillar Inscriptions,<sup>63</sup> Kanheri Buddhist Cave Inscriptions<sup>64</sup> and Kārlē Buddhist inscriptions.<sup>65</sup> Bhadantī is mentioned in an Amarāvati Buddhist sculpture inscription.<sup>66</sup> Arhats, a class of saints, is often mentioned in the Mathurā records.<sup>67</sup>

↳ Buddhist, Jain and Ājīvika monks and nuns probably belonged to the Śramaṇa class, who upheld anti-Brahmanism, while the Brāhmaṇas stood for the authority of the Śruti and the Smṛiti-laws. ↳ The Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas formed the intellectual class, showing socio-religious, and socio-ethical guidelines to the people in general. They, no doubt, played significant role in determining the state-policy. ↳ It is evident from the composition from Kanishka's court where flourished philosopher, poet, physician and others. It may be surmised that they were the "Councillors" of Megasthenes, "Matī-sachivas" of Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman or "Rahasyādhikṛtas" of the Hirahadāgalli copper plate inscription of Pallava King Śivaskandavarman. ↳



In Manu's account (I. 89) "the ruling and military" class is represented by the Kshatriyas. Megasthenes has mentioned them as "magistrates, councillors and soldiers". In the epigraphs of the Āndhras and the W. Kshatrapas the state officials have often been referred to by a generic term "amātya".<sup>68</sup> We also find reference to the officials in charge of various departments, civil and military. We have made a detailed discussion on them in the Chapter dealing with government. It shows the hierarchy which includes the sovereign, the ranking officials and the underlings, scribes or menial aides, is basic to the vertical structure of early Indian administration. In the Kushāṇa age the basic vertical structure apparently seems to have been changed, to some extent, when for reasons of political expediency the provincial satraps and the heads of villages were given a relatively free hand in the conduct of their business. It is not unlikely that princes who voluntarily accepted Kushāṇa sovereignty were generally permitted to continue ruling as vassals. But the great king of Kings considered his satrap not a feudal vassal but a top-ranking territorial agent. The regional functionaries were in charge of collecting revenue for the State. The satrap's administrative freedom of action did not destroy the basic structure of the bureaucratic hierarchy of which the satrap was a part.<sup>69</sup> In introducing the satrapal system, the Kushāṇas followed probably the Persian model. The Kushāṇa empire was a bureaucratic state. However, the king and his bureaucracy represented the ruling and military class.

The main division of society seems to have been based upon the relations between the rulers and the ruled. The Intellectual Class, having an entente cordiale with the ruling class, enjoyed all sorts of privileges. The people, in general, were formed by those who lived by rent, those who lived by wages and those who lived by profit. Megasthenes has mentioned "farmers, herdsman and artisans" as classes in society. This classification is based on a keen



observation of the rural society dependent on agriculture along with cattle-rearing and small industries. No mention is specifically made of traders and merchants who mainly concentrated their activities in commercial towns and ports. In the Manu Samhitā ( I. 90 ) the Vaiśyas have been assigned the occupations of tending cattle, cultivation of land, trade and commerce, and banking, while the Śūdras are prescribed the duty of serving under the upper three varṇas ( I. 91 ) presumably in lieu of wages. The Vaiśyas stand for those who lived by rent as well as profit. But a Śūdra, being unable to find service with the twice-born, could have maintained himself by handicrafts, those mechanical occupations and those various practical arts by following which the twice-born are best served ( MS X. 99-100 ). Originally the Śūdras were probably cultivators as it is suggested by the "Janapadaniveśa" Chapter of the Arthaśāstra. When it would be impossible for a Śūdra to earn his living throughout the year by toiling on land owned not by himself, he used to take to the occupation of craftsmen. Agriculture, being the root, was associated with domestication of animals which could not be an independent occupation.

In the light of his study of the Jātakas, Fick assumes the existence of a "gentry of the land" known as "gahapatis" ( householders ) and "gāmabhojakas" ( free holders of villages ). They have also been described as "land-owning nobility."<sup>70</sup> 'Gahapatis' are often mentioned in the Buddhist Inscriptions described in Sāñchi<sup>71</sup>, Bhārhut<sup>72</sup>, Nāsik<sup>73</sup> and Amarāvati.<sup>74</sup> "Gāmabhoja" is mentioned in the Hīrahadagalli copper plate inscription of the Pallava King Śivaskandavarman.<sup>75</sup> However, the householder and free-holders of villages belong not only to Vaiśya but also to the Brāhmaṇa.<sup>76</sup> caste. The evidences from both Kauṭilya and Manu would show Brahmanical settlements and land-holdings. It is not known whether the lord of one village, ten villages, twenty villages, hundred villages and



thousand villages were all Kshatriyas by caste. But occupationally they represented the ruling class and their purpose of tax-farming was presumably served by the land-owning aristocracy of the villages. At the lowest rung of society existed the Śūdras serving the land-owning gentry as well as the ruling class by cultivation of land and mechanical occupations. With the growth of agrarian economy and dependence of State more and more on land-revenue, the cultivator began to assume an increasingly important economic role, as we have already discussed above.

Unlike the other classes in society, merchants lived by profit through purchase and sale of commodities. It is not unlikely that the land-owning class acted as entrepreneurs for the development of both handicrafts and commerce. Later, wealthy merchants may have acquired land of their own. In any way, it is reasonable to assume that in an agrarian society economic enterprise is bound to be founded on agriculture.

Both industry and commerce were organised through guilds (Śreṇī) which had vital role to play in the State. The Jātakas (I. III. IV. VI) give a list of eighteen guilds. The Mahāvastu (III) furnishes us with the list of guilds different from that in the Jātakas. A few guilds are noticed in Western Indian epigraphs<sup>77</sup> of the Āndhra-Kshatrapa period. The Mathurā Inscription<sup>78</sup> of Huvishka dated in the year 28 mentions only two guilds, one of which is the samitakāra (wheat-flour).

The economic stability of both artisans and merchants is borne out by their liberal religious gifts and donations. A Sāñchi Stūpa inscription<sup>79</sup> records the gift of Ānanda, the son of Vāsishṭhī, the foreman of artisans (āvesanin) of rājan Śrī-Śātakaṇi. A Kānheri detached rock inscription<sup>80</sup> records the gift of the blacksmith (Kamāra) Nanda from Kalyāṇa. A Junnar Buddhist Cave inscription<sup>81</sup> records investment of money with the guilds of bamboo-workers (vasakara) and braziers (kāśākāra). Dedication



of Jain images by some perfumers ( Gāndhika ) or their wives or daughter-in-laws is recorded in the Mathurā records<sup>82</sup> of the Kushāṇa period. An Amarāvati Buddhist sculpture inscription<sup>83</sup> records religious gift by the leather-worker ( charmakāra ) Vidhika, the son of the teacher Nāga. The Nāsik Buddhist Cave Inscription<sup>84</sup> of the Abhīra king Isvarasena records investment of money with the guilds of the potters ( Kularika ), the workers fabricating hydraulic engines ( odayamtrika ) and the oilmillers ( tilapishaka ). The Nāsik Buddhist Cave Inscription<sup>85</sup> of Nahapāna dated in the year 41, 42, and 45 refers to an investment of money into weavers' guilds ( Kolikamkāya ) at Govardhana. A Mathurā Jain image inscription<sup>86</sup> of the Kushāṇa period records dedication by Mitrā, the daughter-in-law of the iron-monger ( bohavāṇiya ) Vādhara and daughter of the Koṭṭamitta, the jeweller ( maṇikāra ). The Mathurā Jain image inscription<sup>87</sup> of the Kushāṇa period records dedication by Vasu, the wife of a dyer ( rajakinī ). A Bhārhut Buddhist rail pillar inscription<sup>88</sup> records gift of the sculptor ( rūpakāraka ) Buddharakshita. The gifts of merchants are recorded in the Sāñchī Stūpa inscriptions.<sup>89</sup> The Kānheri Buddhist Cave Inscription<sup>90</sup> of the time of Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi refers to the building of a chaitya by the merchants ( Vāṇijaka ). In two Mathurā Jain image inscriptions<sup>91</sup> of the Kushāṇa period dated in the years 52 and 54 we find references to dedication of images by the workers in metal ( lohakāraka ). A Mathurā Jain inscription on carved panel<sup>92</sup> records setting up of tablets of homage ( āyāga-paṭas ) by the goldsmith ( sauvarṇika ) Nandighosha. The Mathurā Jain image inscription<sup>93</sup> of the Kushāṇa period dated in the year 22 records dedication by Dharmasomā, the wife of a Sārthavāha ( caravan leader ). The Mathurā Jain inscription<sup>94</sup> of the Kushāṇa period dated in the year 15 records dedication of a fourfold image of Bhagavat by Kumāramitrā, wife of a Śreshṭhin ( banker ). The Mathurā Jain elephant capital inscription<sup>95</sup> of the time of



mahārāja devaputra Huvishka dated in the year 38 records setting up of the elephant Nandiviśāla by the banker (Śreshṭhin) Ārya Rudradāsa, the son of the banker (śreshṭhin) Sivadāsa for the worship of the Arhats. Most of the gifts, donations and dedications were made by the artisans, craftsmen, mechanics, caravan-leaders, traders and bankers, in favour of either Jainism or Buddhism.

### *Theory of Conquest Society*

It has been suggested by some sociologists that there is a relation of conquest to the beginnings of stratified societies, or to further differentiation in already stratified societies.<sup>96</sup> India was already a stratified society, when it was conquered by the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas and Kushāṇas. But as a result of conquest no further differentiation occurred. The nomadic pastorolists like the Śaka-Kushāṇas were attracted by the desirable objective of establishing their rule over the agrarian society in India. As the time of their advent, they were sufficiently numerous to establish a cohesive and distinct alien ruling body apart from and above their subjects. No doubt, the barbarian conquerors sought to protect their political hegemony by placing their own nationals above the indigenous officialdom. An exogenous upper class was probably superimposed upon a native bureaucracy. But this distinction was not of permanent character. Because, the conquerors adopted with speed many features of Indian way of life. They adopted Indian religious beliefs, practised and patronised them. Manu (X. 43-44) recognises the conquerors as Kshatriyas who have gradually sunk to the condition of Śūdras in consequence of the omission of the sacred rites and of their not consulting the Brāhmaṇas. India was not slow to upgrade their position to the status of Kshatriyas by granting to the alien tribes the right to sacrifice (Mahābhārata, XII. 65).



*Kushāṇa State and Indian Society*

The question may be raised whether the Kushāṇas had total social control in the context of changing patterns of Indian society. The Kushāṇa state was based on four main pillars of strength, namely, the exaltation of monarchy to the status of divinity, the satrapal system of administration, the military rule with the aid of Mahādaṇḍanāyakas and Daṇḍanāyakas and cosmopolitanism with catholic spirit. By exaltation of monarchy a tendency towards political decentralisation was sought to be counterbalanced. The claim to the divine status by the monarch had also an effect of exploitation of the religious sentiments of the newly conquered peoples. Secondly, through the satrapal system was ensured the extraction of maximum possible revenue from those who lived by rent, those who lived by profit and also from those who lived by wages. Thirdly, the military administration adequately protected the farflung empire by net work of intelligence and coercion, which successfully blocked the rise of independent nationwide organizations. Fourthly, by following a policy of religious toleration the Kushāṇa rulers not only satisfied the people of different ethnic groups inhabiting their empire but also raised the status of the State in the estimation of the Western and Eastern countries and nations of the world. The international prestige achieved by the Kushāṇa State was utilised by the rulers to win over the allegiance of the people.

Indian society, on the other hand, was characterised by some features which posed a challenge to the all-powerful State: Firstly, the self-governing rural society, self-complacent economically, was the source of decentralisation of powers, political and economic. Secondly, Manu's sanction of private ownership of landed property and its accessories brought an end to the total control of the State enjoyed over agrarian economy in the time of Kauṭilya. Thirdly, the State, although it appointed Satraps to rule over the



provinces, had to largely depend upon the co-operation of the heads of villages as well as the landowning aristocracy of the country for successful revenue-collection. Fourthly, the guilds of artisans and merchants that flourished mostly in towns and cities were generally guided by their own rules and regulations and rarely tolerated State-interference. The State had to be expectantly looking forward for smooth conduct of revenue-collection from the traders and artisans. Besides, the State had to depend upon them, who determined not only trade and industry but also banking and thus guaranteed economic prosperity of the country. Next, the democratic ideas of the constitution of republican tribes could not be overpowered by the concept of exalted monarchy introduced by the Central Asiatics. That explains why it became possible for those republics to lead the so-called war of independence against the Kushāṇa hegemony about the middle of the third century A.D. Lastly, the powerful growth of the reformation movements of the heretical religions and the counter-reformation initiated by the exponents of Brahmanism and Varṇāśramadharmā often compelled the State to maintain the balance between the two. While the political thinkers wanted the State to maintain the social order based on "Varṇāśrama" the Buddhist church held up anti-Vedism as well as high ideals of democracy and internationalism. It was risky for the State-policy to be totally guided by the one or the other. While the mercantile community favoured Buddhism and Jainism, the landowning nobility were mostly behind Brahmanism which had its strong-hold in rural society. The State could not take side of one against the other. Under the circumstances, the state policy was bound to be tolerant and impartial. Far from total social control, the Kushāṇa State-machinery had to become dependent, to a large extent, on Indian society. Zoroastrianism, introduced by the Kushāṇa rulers, served the purpose of revitalizing the Brahmanical faith instead of providing them with an



independent way. It was demanded from the Indianised foreigners by the socio-political thinkers that they would abide by the rules of political righteousness. The military strength seems to have been least used for coercion of the people. It was maintained for the protection of the people against internal disorder and chaos as well as external dangers, if there would have been any. The bureaucracy was meant for maintaining the State-machinery. It could be over-imposed as a separate class, thereby duplicating the nobility and further complicating the social structure.

The available evidences do not show that the Kushāṇa rulers were despots, although they claimed to have been "Devaputras". Their high-sounding titles "Mahārāja Rājātirāja" indicate the revival of the imperial unity in Northern India along with parts of Central Asia. The withdrawal of uniting political force for about two centuries may have coincided with some changes of social relations and other values. The cosmopolitan character of the Kushāṇa State with its political and economic intercourse with the outside world justified and consolidated changes already in progress and simultaneously revitalised the society on a line which led it onward to the cherished goal of its revived glory.

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56. Ibid, No. 925.
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64. Ibid, No. 987, 989, 1007, 1012, 1020.
65. Ibid, No. 1089, 1094, 1095, 1107.
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69. Cf. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism*, pp. 305 ff.
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75. Ibid, No. 1200.
76. Dutoit, *Jātakam* II, 143n, IV. 54l ff; Cf. Wittfogel, *op.cit.*, p. 313.
77. Luders List No. 1133, 1137, 1162, 1165, 1180.
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81. Ibid, No. 1165.
82. Ibid, No. 37, 39, 68, 76.
83. Ibid, No. 1273.
84. Ibid, No. 1137.
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89. Ibid, No. 269, 320, 355.
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91. Ibid, No. 53, 54.
92. Ibid, No. 95.
93. Ibid, No. 30.
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## Appendix A

## STATE IN MĀNAVA DHARMAŚĀSTRA

It is generally agreed that the text of the Mānava Dharmaśāstra was formulated sometime between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200.<sup>1</sup> The reasons shown behind this view are the following : (i) The Manu-Saṁhitā is to be placed after the earliest Dharma-sūtras written before 300 B.C. ; (ii) the text of the Manu-smṛiti is much older than the Yājñavalkya-Saṁhitā whose latest date can be assigned to the third century A.D. ; (iii) in Chapter X. 44 Manu mentions the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Cīnas. The Pahlavas are placed in the earlier part of the first century A.D.

Ever since its appearance the Manu-Smṛiti has determined the manner and mode of life. Brihaspati<sup>2</sup> declares : "Other branches of knowledge, logic and grammar, shine only until Manu, the teacher of Dharma, Artha and Moksha, shows himself, that code which runs contrary to Manu is not commendable." It has been rightly observed by Keith that "in Manu we have the soul of a great section of the people."<sup>3</sup>

The State as conceived by Manu may have been traditional in character. But the concept is likely to have influenced Indianised foreigners.

*Territory and Population :*

The first two constituent elements of the state are territory and population.

M.S. VII.69. "Jāṁgalaṁ Śasyasampannamāryaprāyamanā-  
vilam/

Ramyamānatasīmantaṁ Svājīvyam

deśamāvaset//"

The king should settle in a country which is open and



has a dry climate, where grain is abundant, which is inhabited by Aryans, is not subject to epidemic diseases and is pleasant, where vassals are obedient and his own people easily find their livelihood.

*Government* : The third constituent element of the State is the Government, the agency for the expression of the collective will.

*King* : The king is the head of the State and a chief of the executive. Manu emphasises on the divinity of king.

M.S. VII.4. "Indrānilayamārkāṇāmaṅścha Varāṇasya cha/  
Chandravittesāyośchaiva mātṛā nihritya  
sāsvatīḥ//"

The Lord created the king for the protection of all, taking eternal particles of Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Sūrya, Agni, Varuṇa, Chandra and Kuvera.

Manu has stressed upon the political righteousness of the temporal ruler.

M.S. VII.45. "Daśakāmasamutthāni tathāṣṭan krodhajāni  
cha/  
Vyāsanāni durantāni prajātnena vivarjjayet//"

The king should shun carefully the ten vices, springing from love of pleasure, and the eight, proceeding from wrath, which end in misery.

Because, by following an unrighteous path perished king Veṇa, Nahusha, Sūdās, Sumukha and Nemi ( MS. VII.41 ). But by dint of virtue Prithu and Manu gained sovereignty, Kubera the position of the lord of wealth and the son of Gādhī the rank of a Brāhmaṇa ( MS. VII.42 ).

Notwithstanding his power and authority, the king should consider himself subject to the political sovereign, that is, the people.

M.S. VII.111. "Mohādrājā svarāshṭram yaḥ  
karshayatyanavekshayā/  
Sochirādbhraṣyate rājyājñivitachcha  
savāṇdhavāḥ//"



The king who through folly rashly oppresses his kingdom, will, together with his relatives, ere long be deprived of his life and of his kingdom.

M.S. VII.112. "Rāshṭrasya saṅgrahe nityaṁ  
vidhānamidamācharet/  
Susāṅgrihītarashṭrā hi pārthivaḥ  
sukhamedhyate//"

In governing his kingdom the king should observe the rules laid down ; for a king who governs his kingdom well, easily prospers.

*Councillors ( Sachivas )* : The king has to have advisers to help him to rule ( M.S. VII.30 ).

M.S. VII.54. "Maulān śāstravidāḥ śūrāllabdhalakshyān  
kulodgatān/  
Sachivān sapta chāshtau vā prakurvata  
parikshītān//"

The king should appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons and descended from noble families who have been tried.

M.S. VII.57. "Teshāṁ svamsvamabhiprāyamupalabhya  
prīthak prīthak/  
Samastānāṅcha kāryeshu  
vidadhyāddhitamātmanah//"

Having first ascertained the opinions of each minister separately and then the views of all together, let him do what is most beneficial for him in his affairs.

The most distinguished among the ministers should be a Brahmin ( M.S. VII.58 ).

*Officials ( Amātyas )* : The officials are concerned with the execution of the government's policies.



M.S. VII.60. "Anyānapi prakurvīta śuchīn

prajñānavasthitān/

Samyagarthasamāhatrinamātyān

suparīkṣhitān//"

The king should appoint other officials, men of integrity, who are wise, firm, well able to collect money, and well tried.

The king has to appoint as many persons as the due performance of his business require ( M.S. VII.61 ). The brave, the skilful, the highborn and the honest are to be employed in the offices for the collection of revenue ( VII.62 ). The king should appoint an ambassador ( dūta ) who is versed in all sciences ( VII.63 ).

M.S. VII.65. "Amātye daṇḍāyatto daṇḍe vainayikī kriyā/

Nṛipatau kosharāshṭre cha dūte

sandhiviparyayau//"

The army depends on the official placed in charge of it, the due control of the subjects on the army, the treasury and the government of the realm on the king, peace and its opposite war on the ambassador.

M.S. VII.122. "Sa tānanuparīkrāmet sarvvāneva sadā

svayaṁ/

Teshāṁ vṛittāṁ pariṇayet samyagrāshṭreshu

tachcharaiḥ//"

The king has to personally visit by turns all those other officials ; he is to properly explore their behaviour in their districts through spies ( chara ) appointed to each. Because, the king should protect his subjects against those officials who seize the property of others ( VII.123 ).

#### *Administration of Justice :*

The king should dispense justice depending on the eternal law ( Dharmam śāsvatamāsritya kuryāt kāryavinir-  
ṇayam, VIII.8 ). If the king does not personally investigate



the law-suits, he is to appoint a learned Brāhmaṇa to try them ( Nijun̄jyādvidvāṁsaṁ Brāhmaṇaṁ Kāryadarśane, VIII.9 ).

M.S. VIII.10. "So-asya kāryāṇi sampaśyet sabhyaireva  
tribhirvṛita/  
Sabhāmeva praviśyāgryāmasīnaḥ sthita  
eva vā//"

That man shall enter that most excellent court, accompanied by three assessors, and fully consider all causes brought before the king, either sitting down or standing. So, the judge, appointed by the king along with three others, constitutes the court.

The law-suits are tabulated under eighteen headings : non-payment of debts, deposit and pledge, sale without ownership, concerns among partners, resumption of gifts, non-payment of wages, non-performance of agreements, rescission of sale and purchase, disputes between the owner and his servants, boundary-disputes, assault, defamation, theft, robbery and violence, adultery, duties of man and wife, partition of inheritance, gambling ( M.S. VIII.4-7 ).

M.S. VIII.15. "Dharmo eva hato hanti dharmo rakshati  
rakshitaḥ/  
Tasmādharmo na hantavyo mānodharmo  
hatoavadhīt//"

Justice being violated, destroys. Justice being preserved, preserves. Therefore justice must not be violated, lest violated justice destroys us.

M.S. VIII.129. "Vagdaṇḍaṁ pratham̄ kuryātdigdaṇḍaṁ  
tadanantaram̄/  
Tritiyaṁ dhanadaṇḍaṁtu Vadhadaṇḍaṁ  
ataḥ param̄//"

The first punishment should be admonition, second reproof, third, a fine and fourth, corporal punishment.



Punishment should fit each case individually. While a common man would be fined one Kārshāpaṇa, the king shall be fined one thousand. In case of a theft the guilt of a Śūdra shall be eightfold, that of a Vaiśya sixteen-fold, that of Kshatriya thirty-two times and that of a Brāhmaṇa sixty-four fold or twice sixty-four fold ( M.S. VIII.336-338 ).

*Law-making :*

M.S. XII.111. "Traividyo haitukashtarkī nairukto  
dharmapāṭhakaḥ/  
Trayaśchāśramaṇaḥ purvve Parishat  
syāddaśāvarā//"

Three persons who each know one of the three principal Vedas, a logician, a Mīmāṃsaka, one who knows the Nirukta, one who recites the sacred law, and three men belonging to the first three orders shall constitute a legal assembly consisting of at least ten members.

M.S. II.6. "Vedo-akhilo dharmamūlaṁ smṛitiśīle  
chatadvidām/  
Āchārachaiva Sādhunāmātmarastuṣṭireva cha//"

The whole Veda is the first source of the sacred law, next the tradition and the virtuous conduct of those who know the Veda further, also the customs of holymen and finally self-satisfaction.

*Local Government :*

A state is divided into small units of administration.

M.S.VII.115. "Grāmasyādhipatiṁ Kuryāddaśagrāmapatiṁ  
tathā/  
Viṁśatiśaṁ Śateśaṇcha sahasrapatimeva cha//"

The king has to appoint a lord over each village as well as lord of ten villages, lord of twenty villages, lord



of a hundred and lord of a thousand. The lord of one village himself shall inform the lord of ten villages of the crimes committed in his village, the ruler of ten shall make his report to the ruler of twenty, the ruler of twenty shall report to the lord of a hundred, and the lord of a hundred shall give information to the lord of a thousand ( VIII. 116-117 ).

M.S.VIII.118-119 : "Yāni Rājapradeyāni pratyahaṁ grāma-  
vāsibhiḥ/  
Annapānendhanādīni grāmikastānyavā-  
pnuyāt//  
Daśi Kulantu bhuñjita Viṁśi pañcaku-  
lām ca/  
Grāmaṁ grāmaśatādhyakshyaḥ Sahas-  
rādhipatiḥ puram//"

The lord of one village shall obtain those articles which the villages ought to furnish daily to the king, such as food, drink, and fuel. The ruler of ten villages shall enjoy one Kula or land, the ruler of twenty-five kulas, the superintendent of a hundred villages one village and the lord of a thousand a town.

#### Taxation :

Manu has prescribed the principles as well as the rates of taxation.

M.S.VII.129. ✓ "Yathālpālpamadantādyam vāryokovatsa  
ṣaṭpadāḥ/  
Tathālpālpō grahitavyo Māshtrādrajñāvdikah  
karaḥ//"

As the leech, the calf, the bee take their food little by little even so must the king draw from his kingdom moderate annual taxes.

A fiftieth part of increment on cattle and gold may be taken by the state, a sixth, eighth, and twelfth part



of the crops ( VII. 130 ). The state may take sixth part of the trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, herbs, flowers, fruits and roots, leaves, pot-herbs, grass objects made of cane, skins, earthen-ware and stone articles ( VII. 131-132 ).

Mechanics and artisans, as well as Śūdras who subsist by manual labour should give a day of their service to the state during each month ( VII. 138 ).

The other sources of revenue include customs and export duties ( VII. 398 ), duties on sale and profit ( VIII. 401 ), tolls ( VIII. 404-405 ), freight ( VIII. 406 ), mines, manufactures and store houses ( VII. 62 ).

*Department of Foreign Affairs :*

M.S.VII.63. Dūtañchaiva prakurvīta sarvaśāstrāviśāradañ/

The king should appoint an ambassador who is versed in all sciences. On an ambassador depends the foreign relations in war or peace ( Dūte Sandhiviparyayau, VII. 65 ). In connection with foreign relations the six measures are discussed by Manu.

M.S.VII.160. "Sandhiñcha vighrahañchaiva yānamāsana-  
meva cha/  
Dvaidhibhāvañ Samśrayañcha sadguṇāñś-  
chintayet sadā//"

The king has to always think in terms of alliance, war, marching, halting, dividing the army and seeking protection. Four policies are mentioned in dealing with foreign affairs.

M.S.VII.198. "Sāmnā dānena bhedena samastairathavā  
prīthak/  
Vijetum prajatetārīn na yudhen kadāchana//"

The king should try to conquer his foes by conciliation, by well-applied gifts, and by creating dissension,



used either separately or conjointly, never by fighting if it can be avoided.

M.S.VII.200. "Trayānāmapyupāyānam purvoktānāmasambhave/

Tathā yudhyeta samyatto vijayea tripūn  
yathā//"

When the first three expedients ( viz. Sāma, dāna, bheda ) are found unsuccessful, the king may, duly exerting himself, fight in such a manner that he may completely conquer his enemies.

The policy towards the newly conquered country and people is clearly recommended by Manu.

M.S.VII.201. "Jitvā sampujayeddevān brāhmaṇāmschaiva  
dhārmikān/

Pradadyāt parihāraṁscha khyāpayedabha-  
yānicha//"

After victory, the conqueror should worship the gods and honour righteous Brāhmaṇas, grant exemptions and cause promise of safety to be proclaimed.

M.S.VII.202. 'Sarveshāntu viditvaishām samāsena chikīr-  
shitaṁ/

Sthāpayet tatra tadvaṁsyam kuryāchcha  
samaya kriyām//"

After ascertaining the views of the people, the conqueror may place a relative of the vanquished ruler on the throne and improve his conditions.

Diplomatic relations are to be maintained with the neighbouring states in times of peace. It is the ordained duty of the ambassador ( dūta ) to explore the expression of the countenance, the gestures and actions of the foreign king through the gestures and actions of his confidential advisers, and discover his designs among his servants ( VII. 67 ).



M.S.VII.155. "Madhyamasya prachāraṇcha vijigīṣhoṣṭha  
 chashṭitam/  
 Udāsīna prachāraṇcha śatroṣhaiva  
 prajātatah//"

Alertness is prescribed on the conduct of the middle most prince, on the doings of him who seeks conquest, on the behaviour of the neutral king and on that of the enemy. These four constituents ( prakṛitis ) form the foundation of the circle of neighbours ( mūlam maṇḍa-  
 lasya ) [ VII. 156 ].

M.S.VII.158. "Anantamarim Vidyādarisevinameva cha/  
 Areranantaram mitramudāsīnam tayoh  
 param//"

An immediate neighbour is to be considered as hostile and likewise the partisan of such a foe. An immediate neighbour of the foe is to be treated as friendly, while a king beyond these two is to be considered as neutral. Preference is given to securing of allies, however, weak they may be ( VII. 208-209 ).

#### *Sovereignty :*

The fourth constituent of state is sovereignty. While the legal sovereignty or supreme power and authority is vested in a king of monarchical state, the political sovereignty is with the people. A state is sovereign by its independence of all external control, its international status not being one of vassalage.

M.S.VII.87. "Samottamādhamai rājātvāhūtaḥ pālayan  
 prajāh/  
 Na nivartteta saṁgrāmāt Kshātram dharma-  
 manusmaran//"

A king who, while he protects his people, is defied by foes, be they equal in strength, or stronger or weaker, must not shrink from battle, remembering the duty of Kshatriyas.



As we have already pointed out, Manu stresses on diplomatic relations between sovereign states. Without sovereignty being enjoyed by full-fledged states, the question of international relations based on both war and peace would not arise in the Mānavadharmaśāstra.

### *Functions of the State :*

In view of Manu, the state stands for the protection of private property-ownership, the family and the caste-system based on varṇāśramadharma.

### *Property :*

M.S.VIII.40. Dāṭavyaḥ sarvvavarṇebhyo Rājñā chorai-  
hritam dhanam/

Rājā todupajuñjānaśchurasyāpnoti kilviṣam//

Property stolen by thieves must be restored by the king to men of all castes. A king who uses such property for himself incurs guilts of a thief.

It is ordained that the king shall protect the inherited and other property of a minor until he has returned from his teacher's house or until he has passed his minority ( VIII. 27 ). A righteous king must punish like thieves those relatives who appropriate the property of such females, as barren women, those who have no sons, those whose family is extinct, widows faithful to their lords and those afflicted with diseases during their life-time ( VIII. 29-29 ). The property, the owner of which has disappeared, shall be deposited with the state for three years ( VIII. 31 ).

M.S.X.115. Saptavittāgamā-dharmmyā dāyolābhah  
krajajayah/  
Prayoga Karmayogaścha satpratigraha eva  
cha//



There are seven lawful modes of acquiring property, viz., inheritance, finding or friendly donation, purchase, conquest, lending at interest, the performance of work, and the acceptance of gifts from virtuous men.

The law-book suggests that only the authority of the state could assure those seven modes of acquiring property.

*Family :*

M.S.VIII.41. Jātijānapadān dharmān Śreṇīdharmāmścha  
dharmavit/  
Samīkshya kuladharmāmścha svadharma  
pratipādayet//

A king who knows the sacred law, must inquire into the laws of castes, of districts, of guilds and of families, and thus settle the peculiar law of each.

Out of the eighteen offences into which the King should look ten offences are connected with property and two are connected with family ( VIII. 4-7 ). The offences connected with family are adultery ( Strisam-grahanam ) and duties of man and wife ( Strīpuṇdharmo vibhāgaḥ ). The king has to decide the suits contended on these titles.

*Caste-system :*

M S.VII.35. Sve Sve dharme nivishṭānām sarvveshāmanu-  
pūrvvasaḥ/  
Varṇānāmāśramāṇāñcha Rājā sṛishṭo-abhi-  
rakshitā//

The king has been created to be the protector of the castes and orders, who, all according to their rank, discharge their several duties.

In view of Manu, the kingdom would prosper only so long as the purity of castes is maintained, otherwise it will perish together with its inhabitants ( X. 61 ).



M.S.VIII.410. Vāñijyaṁ Kārayedvaiśyaṁ Kuśīdaṁ  
 Kṛishnīmeva cha/  
 Paśūnām rakṣaṇaṁchaiva dāśya śūdraṁ  
 dvijanmanām//

The king should compel the Vaiśya to attend to trade, banking, agriculture or cattle-rearing, and a Śūdra to serve the twice-born castes.

The most privileged position is held by the Brāhmaṇas in Manu's state.

M.S.IX.319. Evaṁ yadyapyaniṣṭeṣhu Varttante Sarvva-  
 karmasu/  
 Sarvathā Brāhmaṇāḥ puṇyāḥ paraṁ daiva-  
 taṁ hi tat//

Though the Brāhmaṇas employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupations, they must be honoured in every way, for each of them is a very great deity.

M.S.VII.85. Samamabrāhmaṇe dānam dviguṇaṁ Brāhma-  
 ṇabrube/  
 Prādhīte Satasāhasramanantam Vedapāraḡe//

A gift to one who is not a Brāhmaṇa yields the ordinary reward, to one who calls himself a Brāhmaṇa a double reward, a gift to a well-read Brāhmaṇa a hundred thousand-fold reward and a gift to one who knows the Veda and the Aṅgas without end.

Manu's social order demands that different castes perform separate assigned duties and occupations. Teaching, studying the Vedas, sacrificing for their own benefit and for others and giving and accepting of alms are the duties of the Brāhmaṇas ( M.S. I. 88 ). Protection of the people, bestowing gifts, offering sacrifices, studying the Vedas, and abstention from sensual pleasures are the duties of Kshatriyas ( M.S. I. 89 ). Cattle-rearing, making gift, offering sacrifices, studying the Vedas, trade, banking and cultivation of land are the duties of the Vaiśyas ( M.S. I. 90 ). The prescribed duty of the Śūdras is to serve the other three castes ( M.S. I. 91 ).



*Appendix B*

SOME INSCRIPTIONS OF THE POST-MAURYA  
PERIOD BEARING ON INDIAN POLITY

*Kharoshthi Records*

1. Swat Relic Vase Inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoras ( CII. I. i. p. 4 )  
—It records the establishment of the relics of the Lord Śākyamuni by Theodoros, the Meridarkh.
2. Taxila Copper Plate Inscription of a Meridarkh ( CII. I. i. p. 5 )  
—It records the establishment of the stupa by..... , the Meridarkh.
3. Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscriptions of the time of Menander ( Ep. Ind., XXIV, p. 7 )  
—It records the establishment of relics of the Lord Śākyamuni by apratyagrāja Vijayamitra during the reign of the Mahārāja Menander.
4. Shahdaur Inscription of Damijada ( CII. I. i. p. 16 )  
—It refers to rājan Dāmijada, the Śaka.
5. Taxila Copper plate Inscription of Patika—the year 78 ( CII I. i. p. 24 )  
—It records the establishment of the relics of the Lord Śākyamuni and a Samghārāma in the town of Taxila by Patika, son of Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka of Chuksha, in the year 78, during the reign of Mahārāja Mahān Moga.
6. Mathura Lion Capital ( CII. I. i. p. 48 )  
—It records the enshrinement of the relics of Buddha and other necessary endowments by the chief queen



of Mahākshatrpa Rajula, Nada Siaka, daughter of Ayasi Komuia and mother of Yuvarāja Kharaosta, associated in her pious acts with her various relations. All this is done in honour of Mahākshatrpa Kusuluka Patika, the Kshatrpa Mevaki Miyika, the Kshatrpa Khardea and others, in fact the whole Sakastam. The record mentions Kshatrpa Sodāsa, son of Rajula.

7. Takht-i-Bāhi Inscription of Gondopharnes (CII. I. i. p. 62)  
—It records the religious gift of Balasami the Saviour, during the reign of mahārāja Guduvhara, in the 26th year, in the year 103, in honour of Mira the saviour and of Prince Kapa.
8. Panjtār Stone Inscription of a Kushāṇa King ( CII. I. i. p. 70 )  
—It records a religious gift by Moika, son of Urumaja, in the year 122, in the reign of Mahārāja Gushana.
9. Kalawan Copper plate Inscription ( Ep. Ind., XXI, p. 259 )  
—It records enshrinement of the relics of Buddha by the female lay-worshipper Chandrābhi, daughter of grihapati Dharma, wife of Bhadrapāla, in the year 134 of Azes.
10. Taxila silver scroll Inscription of a Kushāṇa King ( CII. I. i. p. 77 )  
—It records the enshrinement of the relics of the Lord by Urasaka, the Bactrian, in the Dharmarājikā compound of Takshaśilā, in the year 136, for the bestowal of health on mahārāja rājātirāja deva-putra Khushāṇa.
11. Khalatse Inscription of the year 187 ( CII. I. i. p. 81 )



—It refers to the year 187 of mahārājā Uvima Kavthisa.

12. Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of the year 191 ( CII. I. i. p. 82 )

—It records the year 191 of Jihonika, the Kshatrapa of Chuksha, son of Maṇigula, brother of mahārājā.

13. Peshawar Casket Inscriptions ( CII. I. i. p. 137 )

—It records the religious gift—the slave Agisala was the Navakarmika in the Kanishka's Vihāra, in Mahāśena's saṅghārāma, in the year 1 of mahārājā Kanishka, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teacher.

14. Sui Vihar Copper Plate Inscription of the year 11 ( CII. I. i. p. 141 )

—It records the raising of the staff by the friar Nāga-datta, the disciple of the teacher Dharmatrāta, the disciple's disciple of the teacher Bhava, in Damana, on the 18th day of the month Daisios, during the reign of Mahārājā Rājātirājā Devaputra Kanishka.

15. Zeda Inscription of the year 11 ( CII. I. i. p. 145 )

—It records the digging of a well, and a water-giver as the gift of Hipea Dhia for the increase of Sarvāstivāda in honour of Kshatrapa Liaka, on the 20th day of the month of Āshāḍha, in the year 11, during the reign of muroḍa marjhaka Kanishka.

16. Māṇikiāla Inscription of the year 18 ( CII. I. i. p. 150 )

—It records the establishment of several relics of Lord Buddha by Daṇḍanāyaka Lala, a scion of the Kushāṇa family, the donation master of the Kshatrapa Vespasi, along with the Navakarmika Burita on the 20th day of the month of Kārttika during the reign of Mahārājā Kanishka.



17. Māṇikiāla Bronze Casket Inscription ( C11. I. i. p. 151 )  
—It records the gift of the Kāpiśa Kshatrapa, the son of the Kshatrapa Graṇavhryaka.
18. Ara Inscription of the year ( C11. I. i. p. 165 )  
—It records the digging of the well by Dasabhara of the Peshawarian scions on the 25th day of the month of Jaishṭha in the year 41 during the reign of Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Devaputra Kaisara Kanishka.
19. Wardak Vase Inscription of the year 51 ( C11. I. i. 170 )  
—It records the establishment of the relics of the Lord Śākyamuni in the Vagramarega Vihāra in a stūpa at Khawat on the 15th day of the month of Artemisos, in the year 51, by the Kamagulya scion Vagramarega, for the merit of mahārāja rājātīrāja Huvishka.
20. Tor Dherai Inscribed Potsherds ( C11. I. i. p. 176 )  
—It records the donation of a water well by Shāhi Yola Mira, the master of the Vihāra, in his own Vihāra, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers.

*Greek Record :*

1. Surkh-Kotal Inscription of the year 31 ( JA., Vol. 246, pp. 345ff )  
—It is dated in the year 31 and refers to Kanishka Oaninda Bago laggo ( the victorious Kanishka-sanctuary ) and a certain Nokonzoka, who was probably responsible for the restoration of the temple.

*Brāhmi Records :*

1. Bhārhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription ( Luders List No. 687 )  
—It records the erection of gateway and stonework



by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, the son of Gaupīputra Aṅgāradyuta, the grandson of Rājan Gārgīputra Viśvadeva, during the reign of the Suṅgas.

2. Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra (Luders List No. 669)

—It records the erection of Gurudadhvaja of Vāsudeva, the god of gods, by the bhāgavata Heliodora, the son of Dion, the native of Taxila, a Yavana dūta, who came from mahārāja Antialkidas to rājan Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, the saviour, who was prospering in the 14th year of his reign.

3. Ayodhyā stone Inscription of Dhanadeva (Ep. Ind., X, p. 57)

—It records the erection of a flag-staff in honour of his father Phalgudeva by Dharmarāja Dhandadeva, sixth in descent from Senāpati Pushyamitra, the performer of two horse-sacrifices.

4. Pabhosā Cave Inscription of the time of Udāka (Luders' List No. 904)

—It records the excavation of a cave by Āshāḍhasena, the son of Gopālī Vaihidarī and maternal uncle of Rājan Bṛihaspatimitra, son of Gopālī, for the Kaśyapiya Arhats, in the tenth year of Udāka.

5. Pabhosā Cave Inscription (Luders' List No. 905)

—It records the excavation of the cave by Āshāḍhasena, the son of Vaihidarī and the Rājan Bhāgavata, the son of Traivarnī, the son of Vamgapāla, the son of Śaunakāyanī, rājan of Ahichhatra.

6. Hāthigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (Luders List No. 1345)

—The inscription records a description of the deeds



of the Ārya Mahārāja Śrī Khāravēla, Mahāmeghāvāhana, lord of Kālīṅga, the increaser of the glory of the family of Chetas, called also Khemarājan, Vadharājan and Bhikhurājan. When he was 15 years old, he obtained the position of Yuvarāja which he held for 9 years. When he was 24 years old, he was anointed mahārāja in the third generation of the royal family of Kālīṅga. The deeds of the king are recorded regnal year-wise : 1st year — repair of some buildings in Kālīṅga-nagarī ; 2nd year — Defiance of Śātakarṇi and military expedition to the west ; 3rd year — holding of Samāja utsavas in the capital ; 4th year — the king received homage of the raṭhikas and the bhojakas ; 5th year — An aqueduct, which had been excavated by Nandarāja 300 years before, was extended to the city ; 6th year — Exemption of taxes to the Pauras and the Jānapadas ; 7th year — administration only ; 8th year — military expedition to Rājagriha ; 9th year — Gift to Brāhmaṇas and construction of Mahāvijaya palace ; 10th year — Bhāraṭavarsha is mentioned ; 11th year — Pithuṇḍa was ploughed ; 12th year — the kings of Uttarāpatha were terrorised, Brīhaspatimitra, king of Magadha was subdued and Khāravēla brought back the image of Kālīṅga-Jina formerly taken away by the Nandarāja ; 13th year — Erection of pillars etc. on the Kumārīparvata in the vicinity of the dwelling of the Arhats.

7. Mathurā Votive Tablet of the time of Śoḍāsa ( Luders' List No. 59 )

—It records the setting up of an Aryavatī, ( Jain Āyāgapāḷa ) by Kautsī Āmohinī, a female lay-disciple of the Śramaṇas, in the year 72, during the reign of Svāmin Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa.



19. Mathurā Inscription of the year 28 ( Ep. Ind., XXI, p. 55 ff ).

—It records a perpetual endowment of 550 purāṇas in each of the two guilds of Samitākara and raṇa for feeding a hundred Brahmins in the Punyaśālā and provisions to be kept at the entrance of the hall for the sake of the destitute people, hungry and the thirsty by some lord of Bakana and Kharasalera on the first day of Gorpiaos in the year 29. The merit accrued to the Devaputra Shāhi Huvishka.

20. Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of the year 33 ( Luders List No. 38 )

—It records the setting up of a Bodhisattva image by Dhanavati, the female pupil of the monk Bala in the year 33 of Mahārāja Devaputra Huvishka.

21. Mathurā Jain Image Inscription of the year 40 ( Luders List No. 48 )

—It records dedication of the image by....., mother of Simhadatta, wife of the grāmika Jayanāga and daughter-in-law of the grāmika Jayadeva out of the Vāraṇagaṇa, Ārya-Haṭikīya Kula, Vajrinagari-śākhā in the year 40.

22. Mathurā Jain Image Inscription of the year 44 ( Luders List No. 42 )

—It records dedication of the image out of the Vāraṇagaṇa. Ārya-chetika Kula, Haritamālāgadhi Śākhā in the year 44 of Mahārāja Huvishka.

23. Mathurā Buddhist Inscription on base of a pillar of the year 47 ( JA, XXIII, 1904, p. 101 )

—It records gift to monk Jivaka, native of Uḍiyāna to the vihāra of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Huvishka in the year 47.



24. Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of the year 51  
( Ep. Ind., X, p. 105 ff ).  
—It records the setting up of an image of Lord Buddha  
by bhikshu Buddhavarmana in the year 51, during  
the reign of Mahārāja Devaputra Huvishka.
  
25. Māt Inscription ( JRAS, 1924, p. 397 ff., No. 3 )  
—It records the repair of a tank and a devakula by a  
Bakanapati, son of a Mahadaṇḍanāyaka for the life  
and prosperity of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra  
Huvishka.
  
26. Mathurā Jain Image Inscription of the year 60 ( Luders  
List No. 56 )  
—It records dedication of an image of Rishabha by  
Dattā, out of the Koṭṭiyagaṇa, the Sthāniya Kula  
and Āryavajrī Śākhā in the year 60 of Mahārāja  
Rājātirāja Devaputra Huvishka.
  
27. Mathurā Buddha Image Inscription of the year 67  
( PI HC, Hyderabad, p. 163. )  
—It records the installation of an image of Buddha in  
the year 67, in the reign of Mahārāja Devaputra  
Vāsudeva for the acceptance of the Mahāsāmghikas.
  
28. Mathurā stone slab inscription of the year 74 ( Luders  
List No. 60 )  
—It records dedication of the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka  
Vālina at Talakiya in the year 74 of Mahārāja  
Rājātirāja Devaputra Vāsudeva.
  
29. Mathurā Jain image Inscription of the year 84 ( Luders  
List No. 69a )  
—It records the setting up of an image of the holy  
Arhat Rishabha by the daughter-in-law of Bhaṭadatta,  
Ugibhinaka, the wife of Piṇḍi(?), the wife of a



grāmika and by the wife of Dharmasimha, at the request of Kumāraka, pupil of Grāmikagupta in the year 84 of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāsudeva.

30. Mathurā Jain Image Inscription of the year 98 ( Luders List No. 76 )

—It records the dedication by the daughter of Pravara, the daughter-in-law of the gāndhika Varuṇa, at the request of the Ārya-Devadatta, out of the Ārya-Uddhehikiya gaṇa, the Paridhāsika Kula, the Pita-putrika Śākhā, in the year 98 of Rājā Vāsudeva.

31. Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna-years 41, 42, 45 ( Luders List No. 1133 )

—It records dedication of a cave and an endowment of money to the saṃgha of the four quarters by Ushavadāta, son of Dīnika, son-in-law of rājan Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna. The money was invested in two weavers' guilds ( Śreṇī ) at Govardhana. Besides, a gift of coconut trees at the Chikhalapadra-grāma in the Kāpura-āhāra, and dedication of money to the gods and brāhmaṇas. It refers to the Nigama-sabbhā.

32. Kārle Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna ( Luders List No. 1099 )

—It records gift of Karajika-grāma to the monks residing in the caves at Valūraka for the support of the Saṃgha of the four quarters by Ushabhadāta, the son of Dīnika and son-in-law of rājan Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna, who made donations to the Brāhmaṇas on the river Barṇāsā and at Prabhāsa.

33. Junnār Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna—year 46 ( Luders List No. 1174 )



—It records gift of a well and rest-house by Aryaman of Vatsagotra, Amātya to Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmin Nahapāna, in the year 46.

34. Jūnāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman—year 72  
( Luders List No. 965 )

—It records the restoration of the Sudarśana lake near Girinagara. The lake originally constructed by the Vaiśya Pushyagupta, the rāshṭriya of the Maurya king ( Rājan ) Chandra Gupta and subsequently adorned with conduits by the Yavana King ( Rējā ) Tushāspa for Aśoka the Maurya, had been damaged during a storm by the waters of Subarṇa-sikata, Palāśini and other streams of the mount Urjayat. The work was executed by the amatya Suviśākha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who had been appointed by the king to rule the whole of Ānartta and Surāshṭra. The inscription records besides that the rējan mahākshatrapa svāmin Chashtāna, was the lord of Ākara-Avanti Anupanivrit, Ānartta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu-Sanvira, Kurura, Aparānta, Nishada etc., that he destroyed the Yaudheyas, that he twice defeated Dakshināpathapati Śātakarṇi, but on account of nearness of relationship did not kill him, and that he himself acquired the title of mahākshatrapa.

35. Gūnda stone Inscription of the time of Rudrasimha I—  
year 103 ( Luders List No. 963 )

—It records the digging of a tank by the Senāpati Rudrabhūti, son of the Senāpati Bāpaka, the Ābhira, at the Rasopadra-grama. The inscription gives the following pedigree: Rājan mahākshatrapa Śvāmi Chashtāna, his son rājan Kshatrapa Svāmi Jayadāman, his son rājan mahākshatrapa Svāmi-



Rudradāman, his son rājan Kshatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasimha.

36. Jasdhan Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I—year 127 ( Luders List No. 967 ).

—It records that in the year 127 of Rājan mahākshatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena, son of rājan mahākshatrapa bhadramukha Svāmi-Rudrasimha, grandson of rājan mahā-Kshatrapa bhadramukha Svāmi-Rudradāman, great grandson of rājan kshatrapa Jayadāman, great great grandson of rājan mahākshatrapa bhadramukha Svāmi-Chashtana, a stone-pillar was erected by the brothers of Kharapārtha, son of Pratyāśaka, of the Mānasa gotra.

37. Kānākherā Stone Inscription of Śrīdharavarman — Regnal year 13, year 201 ( 'Ep. Ind., XVI, p. 232 )

—It records the digging of a well by Mahādanda-nāyaka Śaka Śrīdharavarman, in the 13th year, in the year 201.

38. Nāsik Cave Inscription of Krishṇa ( Luders List No. 1144 )

—It records the excavation of a cave by the mahāmātra Śramaṇa, resident at Nāsik, under rājan Krishṇa of the Sātavāhana family.

39. Nānāghāt Cave Inscription ( Luders' List No. 1112 )

—It records, after an invocation of Dharma, Indra, Saṁkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, the descendants of Chandra, the four lokapālas, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava, the dakṣiṇā given at various sacrifices by Queen Nāyanikā, the daughter of the mahārāṭhī Kalallāya, the scion of the Aṁgiya family, the wife of Śrī Śātakarṇi, the mother of Kumāra Veditṛi, the son of a rājan who is called Dakṣiṇāpathapati, and mother of Śakti Śrīmat.



40. Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi—  
year 18 (Luders List No. 1125)

It records order of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, Benākaṭakasvāmin of Govardhana, from the Vijaya skandhāvāra of the Vaijayantī senā, to Vishṇupālita, the amātya at Govardhana, with regard to the conferring of a field (Kshetra) in the Aparakakhaḍiya-grāma, upto the present time enjoyed by Ushabadāta, on the Trairaśmika ascetics. Written down by the amātya Śivagupta and kept by mahāsamiyas.

41. Nāsik Cave Inscription of the Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi—  
year 24 (Luders List No. 1126)

It records order of rājan Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and of the king's queen mother (mahādevī) whose son is living, to Śyāmaka, the amātya at Govardhana, regarding the gift of a field within the boundaries of the town (Nagara) to the Trairaśmika ascetics, instead of a field at the Kākhaḍi-grāma formerly given. Written down by the pratihārarakshī (gate-keeper).

42. Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi—  
Year 7 (Luders List No. 1100)

It records the gift of a grāma to a saṁgha of Valūraka by the mahārāṭhi Somadeva, son of Vāsishṭhi, the son of the mahārāṭhi Mitradeva, son of Kauśikī, of the Okhalakiyas.

43. Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi—  
Year 19 (Luders List No. 1125)

It records the gift of a cave on mount Triraśmi to the bhikshusaṁgha by the great queen (mahādevī) Gautamī Balasrī, mother of rājarājan Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, rājan of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Surāshṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha,



Akara-Avanti, lord of the mountains Vindhya, Rikshavat, Pāripātra, Sahya, Krishṇagiri, Marttyaśrī, Stana, Malaya, Mahendra, Śreshṭhagiri, Chakora, who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, who rooted out the Kshaharāta dynasty and restored the glory of the Sātavāhana-Kula. The cave was to be the special property of the Bhadrāyāniya school of ascetics. For the embellishment of the cave, the queen's grandson, Dakshināpatheśvara granted the Piśāchīpadraka-grāma on the south-west side of mount Tiraśmi.

44. Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi—Year 22 (Luders List No. 1124)

It records order of Navanagara-Svāmin Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi to Śivaskandila, amātya at Govardhana, regarding the gift of the Śālmalipadragrāma on the eastern road of the Govardhana-āhāra to the Bhadrāyāniya ascetics dwelling in the queen's cave, in exchange of the Sudraśana-grāma on the southern road in the Govardhana-āhāra formerly given to the same monks, for repairs of the cave. It is written by Mahāsenāpati Medhuna.

45. Nāsik Cave Inscription of Yajña Śātakarṇi—Year 7 (Luders List No. 1146)

It records the dedication of a cave to the bhikshusaṅgha of the four quarters by the mahāsenāpatini Vāsū, wife of the Mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa, the Kauśika.

46. China Stone Inscription of Yajña Śātakarṇi—Year 27 (Luders List No. 1340)

The inscription opens with an invocation of Bhagavat, refers to the regnal year 27 of rājan Gautamīputra araka Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi and mentions mahataraka (Chamberlain) Mahā.....



47. Kodavali Well Inscription of the time of Vāsisthi-putra Chada-Sāta—Year 13 (Luders List No. 1341)  
It records the establishment of the earth-dwelling (bhūminiveśa) of the minister (amātya) in the year 13 of rājan Vāsisthiputra Svāmi Śrī Chanda Sāta-karṇi.
48. Myākodani Rock Inscription of Pulumāvi—Year 8 (Ep. Ind. XIV. p. 155)  
It records the excavation of a tank by the grīhapati Śāmba of the Kaunta family in the Vepuraka-grāma of the grāmika Kumāradatta in the Janapada of Mahāsenāpati Skandanāga in the year 8 of Śrī Pulumāvi, rājan of the Sātavāhanas.
49. Malavalli Pillar Inscription of Hāritiputra Vishṇukunḍin Chuṭu Kulānanda Sātakarṇi (Luders List No. 1195)  
It records, after an invocation of the god Malapali, the order of rājan of Vaijayanti, Sātakarṇi of the Mānavya gotra, the son of a Hāriti, born in the Vishṇukunḍin-chuṭu family, to the rajjuka Mahāvallabha concerned the gift of some land in the grāmābhāra Sahalātavi to Koṇḍamāna of the Kaṇḍinya gotra, the son of a Hāriti, as a Brāhmaṇa's gift for the enjoyment of the god Malapali.
50. Nāsik Buddhist Cave Inscription (Luders List No. 1141)  
It records building of a Chaitya on mount Triraśmi by Bhaṭapālikā, grand-daughter of Mahāhakuśrī, daughter of the rājāmātya Arhalaya, native from Chalisilāṇa, wife of the rājāmātya Agigataṇaka, the bhāṇḍāgārika, mother of Kapaṇaṇaka.
51. Sāñchī Buddhist Stūpa Inscription (Luders List No. 2711)  
It records the gift of the rājālipikāra Subāhita, son of a Gaupṭi.



52. Pitalkhorā Buddhist Cave Inscription (Luders List No. 1190)

It records the gift of the rājavidya Mṛigila, the son of Vātsi.

53. Hirahadagalli Copper Plate Inscription of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman (Luders List No. 1200)

It records an announcement of the dharmamahā-rājādhirāja Śivaskandavarman of the Pallavas, a Bhāradvāja, from Kāñchīpura, to the rājakumāra, senāpati, raṭṭika, māḍabika deśādhikṛita and others to the grāmagrāmabhojaka, Vallabha, govallabha, amātya, ārakshādhikṛita, gaulmika, tūthika, nāyaka, and all other employed in the services, to Saṁcharāmtakas and bhaṭamanushyas, that he has given a garden in the grāma, the settlement of Chittareka in the Sātavāhaniya-rāshṭra, to certain Brāhmaṇas of different gotras. The plates were prepared by the rahasyādhikṛita Bhaṭṭīśarman, the kolivāla freeholder (bhojaka).



*Appendix C*

INSCRIPTION ON KUSHĀṆA COINS

*Coins of Kujula Kadphises*

*Obverse*—Greek inscription

- A. Basileus Soteris Ermaïou i.e. (Coin) of King Hermaios, the Saviour (B.M.C. Pl. XXV. 1).
- B. Kozoulou Kadphizou Koshonou i.e. (coin) of Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa (B.M.C. Pl. XXV. 3,4).
- C. Khoshansu Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes i.e. (coin) of Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa Yavuga (chief (B.M.C. Pl. XXV. 5).

*Reverse*—Kharoshthī inscription in Prākṛit

- A. Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa Dhramaṭhidasa (Kujula Kasasya Kushāṇa Yavugasya Dharmasthitasya) i.e. (coin) of Kujula Kasa, the Kushāṇa Chief, who is steadfast in religion (N.C. 1892. Pl. XIV. 3).
- B. Khushanasa Yauasa Kujula Kaphsa Sachadhramaṭhidasa (Kushāṇasya Yuvugasya Kujula Kaphsasya Satyadharmasthitasya) i.e. (coin) of Kujula Kaphsha, the Kushāṇa Chief, who is steadfast in true religion (B.M.C. Pl. XXV. 5).
- C. Maharajasa rajarajasa devaputrasa (?) Kujula Kara Kapsasa (Mahārājasya rājarājasya devaputrasya Kujula Kara Kapsasya) i.e. (coin) of Kujula Kara Kapsa, great king, king of kings son of Heaven (?) (N.C. 1892, Pl. XIV. 9).
- D. Kujula-Kara Kapsasa maharayasa rayatirayasa (Kujula Kara Kapsasya mahārājasya rājatirājasya) i.e. (coin) of Kujula Kara Kapa, great king, king of kings (N.C. 1892, Pl. XIV. 10).



- E. Maharayasa mahatasa Kushana Kujula Kaphasa (Mahārājasya mahataḥ Kushāṇa Kujula Kaphasya) i.e. (coin) of Kujula Kara Kapa, the great Kushāṇa, the great king (N.C. 1892, Pl. XIV. II).
- F. Maharajasa rajatirajasa Kujula Kaphsa (Mahārājasya Rājātirājasya Kujula Kaphasya) i.e. (coin) of Kujula Kapa, the great king, king of kings (N.C. 1892, Pl. XIV. 12).

*Coins of Wema Kadphises**Obverse*—Greek inscription.

- A. Basileus OOemo Kadphises i.e. (coin) of king Wema Kadphises (B.M.C. Pl. XXV. 12).
- B. Basileus Basileon Soter Megas OOemo Kadphises i.e. (coin) of Wema Kadphises, the great king of kings, the saviour (PMC I. Pl. XVII. 36).

*Reverse*—Kharoṣṭhī inscription in Prākṛit.

- A. Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvalogaiśvarasa mahiśvarasa Hima Katphisasa tradata (Mahārājasya rājātirājasya sarvalokeśvarasya Māheśvarasya Vima Kaṭphisasya trātuḥ) i.e. (coin) of the great king, king of kings, lord of the world, devotee of Maheśvara, Wema Kadphises, the saviour (B.M.C. Pl. XXV. 6-12).

*Coins of Kanishka**Obverse*—Greek inscription

- A. Basileus Basileon Kaneshkou i.e. (coin) of Kanishka, king of kings (B.M.C. Pl. XXVI. 1-3).
- B. Shaonano Shao Kaneshki Koshano i.e. (coin) of Kanishka, the Kushāṇa, king of kings (B.M.C. Pl. XXVI. 4-18).
- C. Shao Kaneshki i.e. (coin) of King Kanishka (P.M.C. I. Pl. XVIII. 73).



*Reverse—Greek inscription*

Oesho, Sakamana Boddo, Athsho, Muro, Mithra, Nana, Nanaia, Nanashao, Orlagno, Pharro, Elios, Oado, Loo拉斯po, Salene, Ardoksho, Ephastos, Mazdooano, Mao, Manaobago etc.

*Coins of Huvishka**Obverse—Greek inscription.*

- A. Shaonano Shao OOeshki Koshano (B.M.C. Pl. XXVII, 8-24 ; Pl. XXVIII. 1-32 ; Pl. XXIX. 1-7) i.e. Huvishka, the Kushāṇa, king of kings.

Variations : (i) Shaonano Shao OOeshko Koshano (B.M.C. Pl. XXVII. 10).

- (ii) Shaonano Shao OOeshke Koshano (P.M.C. I. Pl. XVIII. 137).

*Reverse—Greek inscription.*

Skando Komaro Bizago, Maasena, Oesho, Athsho, Ardoksho, Manaobago, Mao, Anie, Muro, Mioro, Mithra, Nanashao, Oaninda, Shaoreoro, Pharro, Sarapo, Erakilo, Uron, Riom, Oaxsho, Zero, Loo拉斯po, Ashaixsho, Oado, Loe and Woromozdo (JNSI. XIV. Pl. VI. 16, 17).

*Reverse—Brāhmī*

Ganeso (Smith, I.M.C.I. Pl. XIII. 3).

*Coins of Vāsudeva**Obverse—Greek inscription.*

- A. Shaonano Shao Bazodeo Koshano i.e. Vasudeva, the Kushāṇa king of kings (P.M.C. I. Pl. XIX. 209).

Variations : (i) Shaonano Shao Bazdeo

- (ii) Shaonano Shao Bazodeo (NC. 1892, p. 125 ff.)

*Reverse—Greek inscription.*

Nana, Oesho, Ardoksho.



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*Kushāṇa State and Indian Society*

*Coins of Later Kushāṇas*

*Obverse*—Greek inscription

A. Shaonano Shao Kaneshko Koshano

B. Shaonano Shao Bazodeo Koshano (P.M.C.I. Pl. XIX. 231 ; I.M.C.I. Pl. XIV. 3).

*Reverse*—Greek inscription

Oesho, Ardoksho.

Variation : *Obverse*—Brāhmī inscription

Vasu (P.M.C.I. Pl. XIII. 11 ; P.M.C.I. Pl. XIX. 236).

*Reverse*—Greek inscription

Ardoksho.



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## KEY TO PLATES

### *Plate I (I. M. C. I Pl. XI)*

1. Kadphises I, obv. Bust of Hermaios diademed to right, corrupt Greek legend intended for ΚΟΡΣΑΝΟ or ΚΟΡΑΝΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ; Rev. Herakles standing, facing, r. hand resting on club, lion-skin over l. arm. Kh. legend, -gasa dhramaṭhi-, being part of the full legend, Kujula Kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa, Æ round. Ch. II, p. 22.
2. Kadphises I. obv. Head of king r. wearing a peculiar helmet with two recurved horns, legend partly legible, ΚΟΡΚΑΝΟ. Rev. Armed soldier wearing a Kausia-like helmet, standing r. with spear and circular shield, Kh. legend, Kujula Kausa Khusanasa. Æ round. Ch. II, p. 32.
3. Kadphises I. obv. Head to r. diademed resembling that of Augustus, GK. legend, ΧΟΡΑΝΚΥ ΖΑΟΥΥ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ Rev. King or deity seated to r. on a seat resembling a curule chair, his r. hand extended, in 1. field symbol. Kh. legend, Khusanasa yavuasa or yuasa Kujula kaphsasa sachadhramaṭhidasa. Æ round. Ch. II, p. 25-26.
4. Kadphises I. obv. Humped bull, standing to r., symbol illegible, traces of debased GK. legend. Rev. Two-humped camel, standing to r. Traces of Kharoshṭhi legend. Æ round. Ch. II, p. 29.
5. Kadphises II. Obv. Upper part of king diademed, to l. emerging from clouds, with high hat or helmet, flames



arising from his shoulders, club in r., elephant-goad in l. hand, symbol behind head, legend, BACI^EYC OOHMO KAΔφICHC. Rev. Two-armed Śiva, facing, head to l., with hair in spiral top-knot, and a skin over l. arm, grasping combined trident and battle-axe in r. hand, symbols to r. and to l. Kh. legend, maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvalogaiśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wima Kathphisasa tratarasa. AV round. Ch. II, p. 40.

6. Kadphises II. Obv. Head of king to r. in raised square frame, legend imperfect. Rev. Trident on stand, with battle-axe attached to l. and club at r. foot, symbols to r. and to l. Kh. legend, maharajasa rajadirajasa Wima Kathphisasa. AV round. Ch. II, p. 41.
7. Kadphises II. Obv. king diademed wearing tall cap and long coat, standing to l. with r. hand over altar, trident with battle-axe to l. in l. field, club and symbol in r. field, legend, OOHMO KAΔφICHC BACI^EYC BACI^EωN CωTHP ME | AC. Rev. Two-armed Śiva, standing facing in front of bull standing to r. holding trident in r. hand, symbol to l. Kh. legend, iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wima Kathphisasa. Æ round. Ch. II, p. 43.
8. Kanishka. Obv. king standing to l. bearded, wearing peaked cap or helmet, coat, trousers, and cloak, with flames rising from his shoulders, grasping in l. hand and holding in r. hand an elephant-goad over altar, circular legend in Gk. script and Persian language, ρAONANO ρAO KANHρKI KOρANO. Rev. Bearded fire-god, standing to l. diademed, clad in long gown and robe, holding fillet in extended r. hand and tongs in l. hand, which rests on hip, flames rising from his shoulders, symbol to l., legend to r. AθρO AV round. Ch. III, pp. 58, 60.



9. Kanishka. Obv. Similar Rev. Four-armed Śiva, standing facing with head to l. holding in upper r. hand Vajra or thunderbolt, in lower r. hand a water-vessel with mouth downwards, in upper l. hand nothing and with lower l. hand on hip. Antelope or goat on its hind legs in r. field, symbol, legend, r. OHρO. AV round. Ch. III, p. 62.
10. Kanishka, Obv. Similar, Rev. War-god, helmeted and diademed, standing to r., grasping spear in r. hand, sword at side, symbol r., legend, l. OPAA|NO. AV round, Ch. III. p. 62.
11. Kanishka. Obv. Similar, legend, BACI^EYC BACI^EωN KANHρKOY. Rev. Sun-god, standing to l. defaced, symbol l. legend, r. H^IOΣ. Æ round. Ch. III, p. 64.

*Plate II (I.M.C. I Pl. XII)*

1. Kanishk, Obv. King standing at altar, to l. with Gk. legend BAI^EYC BACI^EωN KANHρKOY (as on No. 11, Pl. I). Rev. Goddess, standing to r. holding sceptre surmounted by horse's head in r. hand, symbol to r. legend almost defaced, NANAIA. Æ round. Ch. III, p. 64.
2. Kanishka. Obv. Similar, legend, illegible. Rev. Sun-god, nimbate, and radiate, standing l., r. hand extended, l. hand on sword at side, symbol, legend, MIOPO. Æ round. Ch. III, p. 65.
3. Kanishka. Obv. Similar, legend, PAO KANHρKI. Rev. Goddess to r., holding sceptre surmounted by horse's head, symbol, legend : NANA. Æ round. Ch. III, p. 65-66.



4. Kanishka. Obv. Similar, legend almost illegible. Rev. Wind-god, running fast to l., with loose hair and both hands raised, holding up his robe floating in the wind, symbol, legend to r. OAΔO. Æ round, Ch. III, p. 66.
6. Kanishka. Obv. Similar. Rev. Buddha, nimbate, facing, in preaching attitude, symbol, reading of the legend similar to B. M. C. Pl. XXVII, 2. Æ round. Ch. III. p. 65.
7. Huvishka. Obv. Bust C with sceptre, legend, PAONA-NO PAO OOHPI KO. Rev. Robbed goddess, standing to r. holding cornucopiae in l. hand, symbol r. legend, l. APΔOXρO. AV round, Ch. III. p. 78.
8. Huvishka. Obv. Similar. Rev. War-god standing, facing, clad in waist-cloth and chlamys, holding in r. hand standard surmounted by a bird, and with l. hand resting on sword at his side, symbol, l. legend, r. MA-ACHNO. AV round. Ch. III. p. 80.
9. Huvishka. Obv. Similar, with elephant-goad. Rev. Four-armed moon-god, seated on throne, head, r. crescent behind shoulders, feet on footstool, holding in upper l. hand sceptre and in lower l. hand callipers, the only r. hand shown rests on his hip, symbol, r. legend, l. MANAOBA, r. | O AV round. Ch. III, p. 78.
10. Huvishka. Obv. Bust B, traces of legend. Rev. Two-armed moon-god, standing l., wearing tunic, crescent behind shoulders, wreath or fillet in r. hand, l. hand on sword at side, symbol, l. r. MAO. AV round. Ch. III. p. 75.
11. Huvishka. Obv. Bust C, with elephant-goad, partly legible legend, NANO ρAO OOH—1 KO ρA. Rev. God



- in voluminous drapery, standing, facing, holding wreath in r. hand, and with l. hand on hip, symbol, l. legend, r. MAO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 78-79.
12. Huvishka. Obv. Similar. Rev. Draped Sun-god, nimbate and radiate, standing l, r. hand extended, l. on sword at side, symbol, l, legend, r. MIPO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 79.
13. Huvishka. Obv. Bust B, legend, Rev. Helmeted goddess Nike, standing, holding out wreath or fillet in r. hand and carrying a trophy in l. symbol, r. legend, l. OAN $\Delta$ O, i.e. OANIN $\Delta$ A of other specimens, *AV* round Ch. III. p. 77.
14. Huvishka, Obv. Bust C, with sceptre, legend legible,  $\rho$ AONANO OO...KI KO $\rho$ . Rev. Four-armed Śiva, l, three-faced, standing facing, wearing waist-cloth, and holding in upper r. hand thunderbolt, in lower r. hand water-vessel with mouth downwards, in upper l. hand trident, and with lower l. hand resting on club, symbol, legend OH $\rho$ A. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 79-80.
15. Huvishka. Obv. Bust B, Complete legend. Rev. Fire-god, standing r. nimbate, wearing tunic and cloak, r. hand extended, holding fire, sword at side, with l. hand resting on it, symbol l, legend, r.  $\phi$ APPO. *AV* round, Ch. III. p. 77.

*Plate III (I.M.C: I Pl. XIII)*

1. Huvishka. Obv. King diademed riding elephant r. with sceptre in r. hand, goad in l. hand, legend.  $\rho$ AO-NANO  $\rho$ AO OOH $\rho$ KE KO $\rho$ ANO, Rev. Mood-god standing l, with crescent behind shoulders, symbol, l, legend, r. MAO. *AV* round, Ch. III. p. 83.



2. Huvishka, Obv. Similar Rev. Figure of Athsho (fire-god), with wreath and tongs, but legend, r. HO $\Delta$ , symbol, 1.  $\mathcal{A}$  round. Ch. III. p. 83.
3. Huvishka, Obv. Similar, corrupt legend, Rev. Sun-god, nimbate and radiate, symbol, 1. legend, r. MIOPO.  $\mathcal{A}$  round. Ch. III. p. 84.
4. Huvishka, Obv. Similar legend almost illegible, Rev. Archer, standing r, holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards, no symbol, legend in Brāhmī characters, Gaṇeśa.  $\mathcal{A}$  round, Ch. III. p. 84.
5. Huvishka, Obv. King facing, seated cross-legged on cushions holding sceptre in l. hand, r. hand on hip, Gk. legend,  $\rho$ AONANO  $\rho$ AO OOH $\rho$ KE KO $\rho$ ANO. Rev. God of fire to 1. with wreath and tongs, no symbol, legend, r. A $\theta$  $\rho$ O.  $\mathcal{A}$  round, Ch. III. p. 85.
6. Huvishka, Obv. Similar, corrupt legend, Rev. Moon-god 1, legend, r. MAO.  $\mathcal{A}$  round, Ch. III. p. 85.
7. Huvishka, Obv. Similar, blurred legend,  $\rho$ AO, being double-struck on Kh. legend, jasa. Rev. Sun-god, nimbate and radiate, wearing sword, 1. symbol, 1, legend, r. MIIPO.  $\mathcal{A}$  round, Ch. III. p. 86.
8. Vāsudeva, Obv. King standing 1. with r. hand over altar, trident in l. hand, another trident with ribbons above altar, sword at King's side, Gk. legend,  $\rho$ AO-NANO  $\rho$ AO. B. ZO $\Delta$ HO KO $\rho$ ANO. Rev. Two-armed Śiva standing, facing, holding noose (Pāśa) in r. hand, trident in l. hand. Behind him, bull standing 1, symbol 1, legend, r. OH $\rho$ O.  $\mathcal{A}$  round, Ch. III. p. 93-94.
9. Vāsudeva, Obv. Similar Rev. Śiva and bull to 1, symbol, r. legend lost.  $\mathcal{A}$  round, Ch. III. p. 95.



10. Vāsudeva, Obv. Similar, legend partly legible, Rev. Throned figure of goddess holding fillet in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. hand, no symbol or legend. On other specimens legend is  $AP\Delta OXpO$ .  $\text{Æ}$  round, Ch. III. p. 95.
11. Vasu. Obv. King 1, at altar, wearing coat and pointed cap, long sceptre adorned with ribbons in l. hand, trident with ribbons over altar, Br. legend, vertically under l. arm, Vasu, vi between king's feet, Rev. Throned goddess, facing holding cornucopiae, symbol, l. corrupt Gk. legend,  $O\Delta O\Delta$  for  $AP\Delta OXPO$ .  $\text{AV}$  round, Ch. III. p. 95.

*Plate IV (I.M.C. I Pl. XIV)*

1. Kaneshko, Obv. King 1. at altar, Gk. legend,  $pAO$  NANO  $pAO$  KANH

KO, Br. characters in the field, r. 'phri', between feet 'gho', l. 'ga', Rev. Śiva with bull, symbol, legend,  $GHpO$ .  $\text{AV}$  round, Ch. IV. p. 98-99.
2. Kaneshko, Obv. Similar, Br. characters, between feet 'vi', r. 'chhu', Rev. Throned goddess, symbol and traces of legend,  $\text{AV}$  round, Ch. IV. p. 98-99.
3. Vāsudeva, Obv. Similar to the Kaneshko coins,  $OAO$  legible, Br. characters, r. 'aum', between feet 'thā', Rev. Śiva and bull, Br. character, 'bu', legend,  $OHpO$ .  $\text{AV}$  round, Ch. IV. p. 98-99.
4. Bhadra, Obv. King at altar, Br. legends vertically arranged, r. Shilāda, under arm 'Bhadra', Rev. Throned Ardoksho with traces of corrupt Gk. legend  $\text{AV}$  round, Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
5. Sayatha, Obv. Similar, r. 'Shāka', under arm 'Sayatha', l. 'bha', Rev. Similar.  $\text{AV}$  round, Ch. IV. p. 104-5.



## Key to Plates

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6. Sita, Obv. Similar, r. 'Shāka', under arm 'Sita', l. 'bha'. Rev. Similar, symbol to l. *AV* round, Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
7. Sēṇa, Obv. Similar, r. 'Shāka', under arm 'Sēṇa', l. 'vi', Rev. Similar, symbol, *AV* round, Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
8. Bacharṇa, Obv. Similar, r. 'Shilāda', under arm 'Bacharṇa', Rev. Similar, symbol, *AV* round, Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
9. Chhu. Obv. Similar, under arm 'Chhu', l. 'ga.' Rev. Similar, symbol. *AV* round, Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
10. Sarvayaśa, Obv. King standing at altar, much debased, Br. legend, 'kida' with four-pointed mātrā on the head of 'Ka' and to l. vertically Br. legend, 'Baga'. Rev. Throned Ardoksho, much debased, Br. legend, Sarvayaśasya, *AV* round, Ch. IV. p. 116.
11. Śrī Sāhi, Obv. Similar, 'Kida' below arm and Br. Śrī Sāhi on lover l. margin, Rev. Similar, no symbol or legend, *AV* round, Ch. IV. p. 115.
12. Kushāno-Sassanian, Obv. King standing l. at altar, with trident in l. hand, wearing richly ornamented coat and conical cap, small trident over altar, Swastika symbol between King's feet, below King's l. arm symbol. Corrupt Gk. legend, OONONO<sub>p</sub>OO BPΔOHO KO<sub>p</sub>ONO. Rev. Śiva and bull in degraded style, symbol, l. legend, r. OHPO. *AV* round, Ch. IV. p. 108-9.
13. Kushāno-Sassanian, Obv. Similar, but more convex and better executed, King's helmet with open lion's mouth in front, Swastika between legs, Br. character 'pe' or 'pi' between sword and leg, symbol in r. field, legend clean, KO<sub>p</sub>ANO <sub>p</sub>A, l. and r. OωOOOZ<sub>p</sub>O intended for OYPOMAZΔO. Rev. Concave, Śiva and bull, no symbol, legend, r. 00000 to l. three characters below bull's head. *AV* round, Ch. IV. p. 108-9.



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\* Sri Mukul Roy, M.A., Head of the Department of History, Vivekananda Mahavidyalay, Burdwan, has helped me in preparing the Index.  
—Author.



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## ERRATA

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*Kushāṇa State and Indian Society*

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167	8	rapprochement	reapproachment
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188	22	didactic	diactic
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208	16	At	As



## OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

### *The Age of the Kushanas—A Numismatic Study*

R. C. Majumdar—"I have duly received a copy of your book on the Kushanas, which is a creditable performance" (Letter dated 8.2.68)

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Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vol. I, 1967-68, Ed. D. C. Sircar—"It is a welcome addition to the works on the history of the Kushanas and the author deserves our congratulations. As is apparent from the title, the book under review is essentially a numismatic study, though Dr. Chattopadhyay has frequently utilised, quite justifiably, literary and archaeological sources... He has shown that the Kushana coinage is not merely one of the sources for the history of the Kushanas, but is in itself an independent field of study.... We have no hesitation in recommending the book to the students of the history of the Kushanas'.

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A. D. H. Bivar in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Vol. xxxII, Pt. 3, 1969 :—

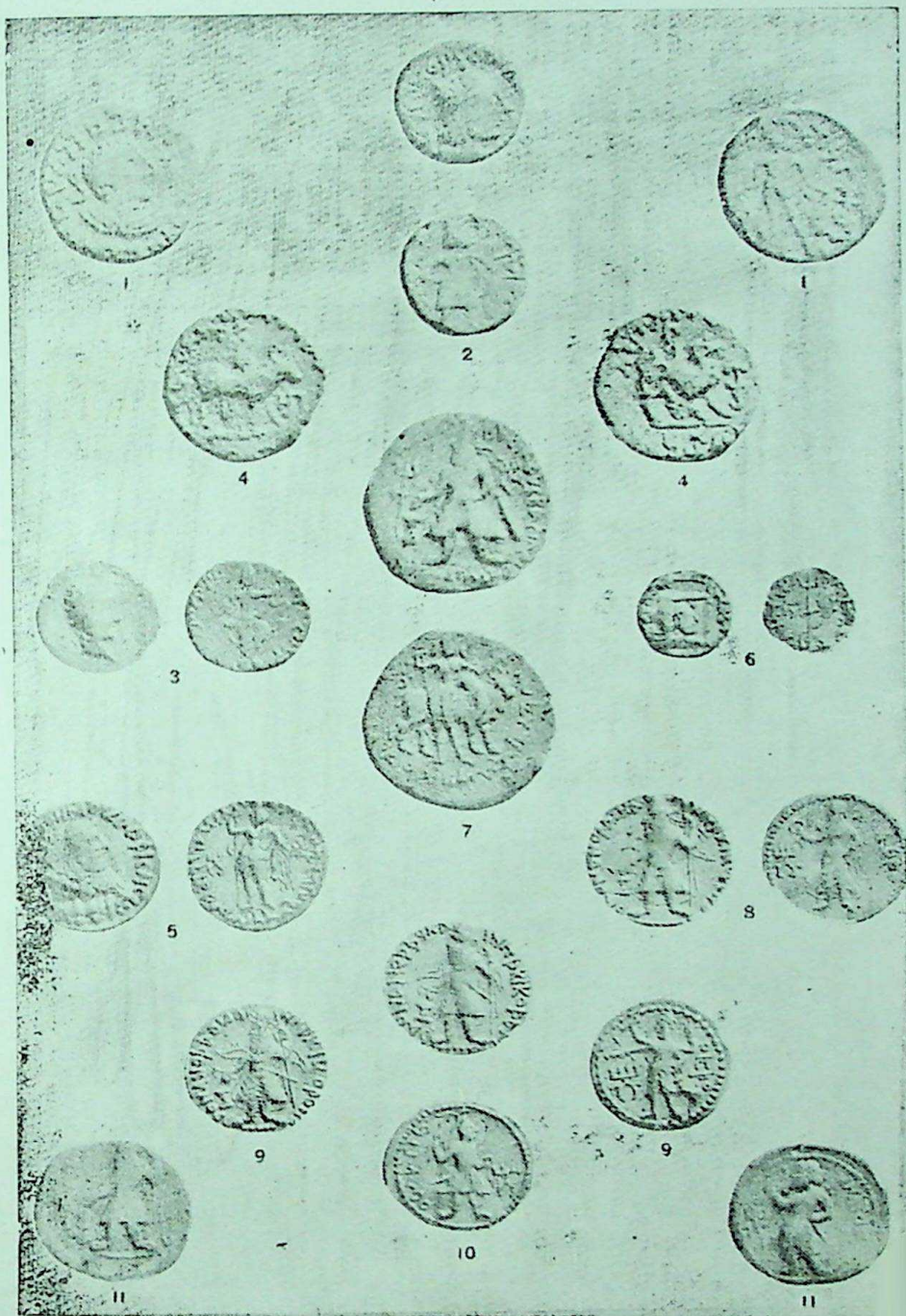
"The recent rekindling of interest in the Kushana period makes opportune this fresh examination of the coin evidence still constituting its most substantial, and best equivocal source. Dr. Chattopadhyay concentrates on his numismatic theme, but though he is not directly concerned with the contentions problem of the date of Kanishka,



his comments on it are interesting..... His account of the "Puri-Kushana" coinage of Orissa is instructive, as this material is not widely known. Attention should also be drawn to the discussion of the gold coinage of successors of Vasudeva I in Punjab, with enigmatic Brahmic abbreviations, indicating a likely field for future investigation. Especially useful is the survey of the provenance of Kushana coins .."



PLATE I



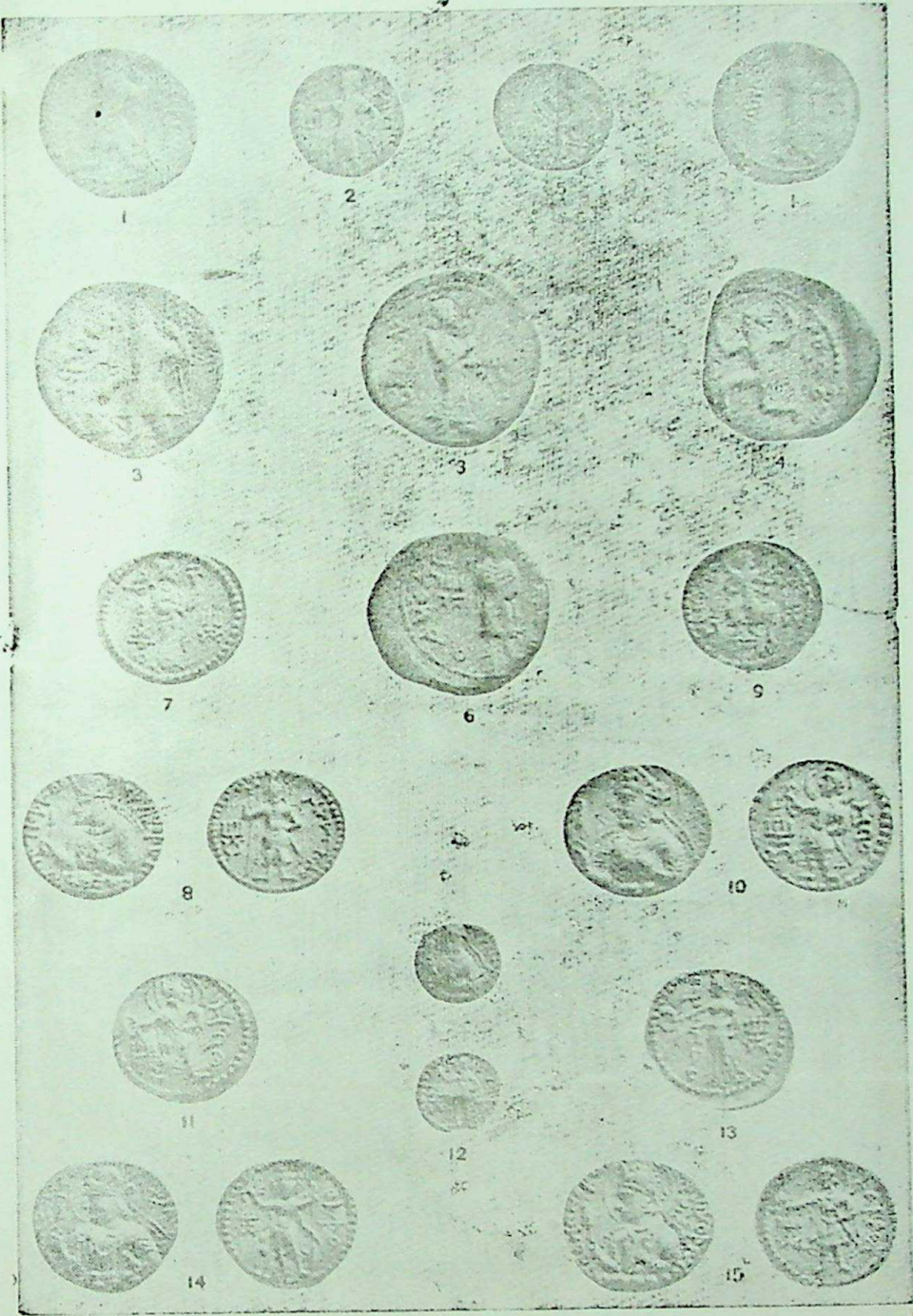
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PLATE II



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PLATE III



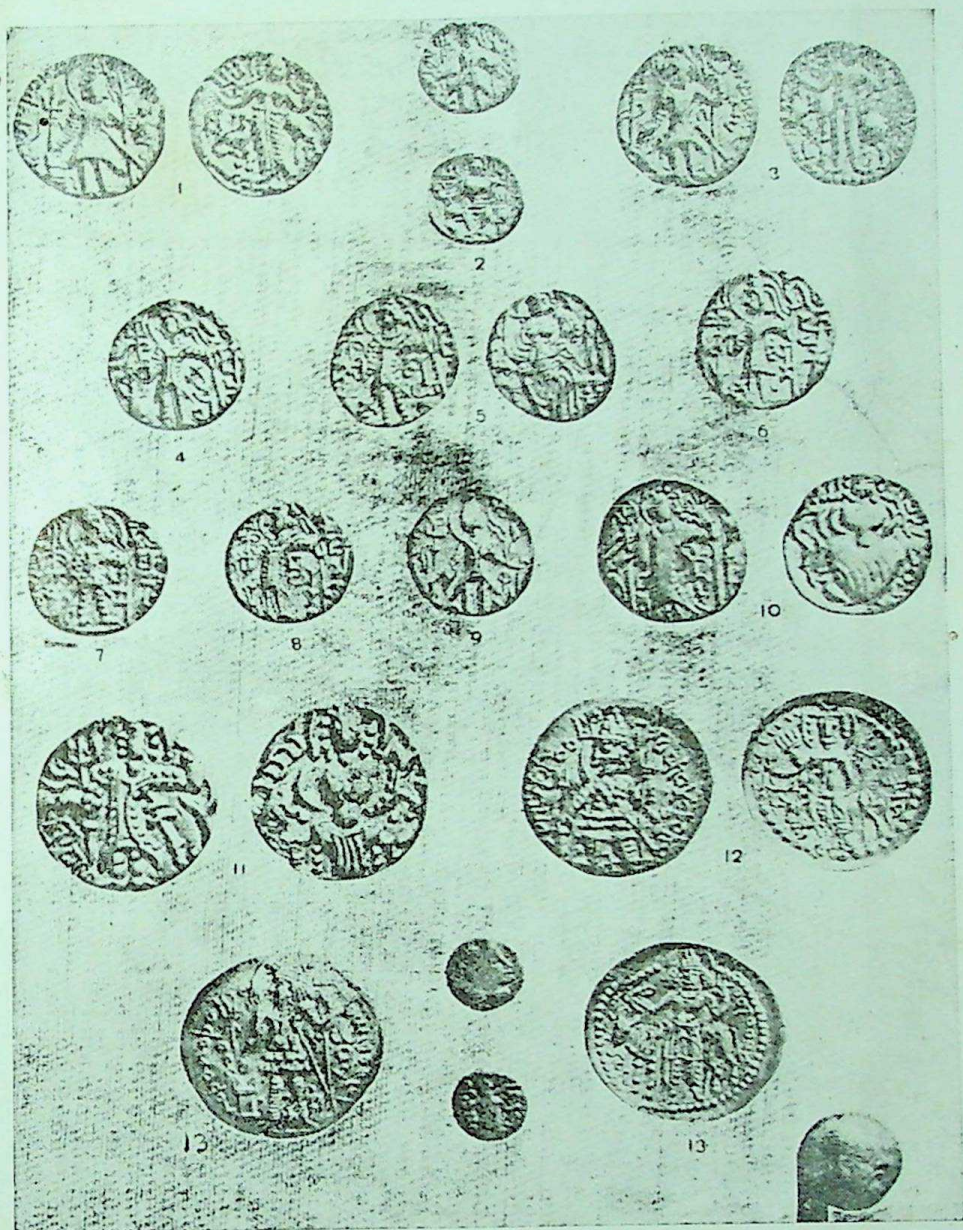
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PLATE IV



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# THE KUSHANA EMPIRE



By courtesy of the Post Graduate  
Department of Geography,  
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## INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

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